

SEVERAL
P A P E R S

Relating to

Barker
Mr. *Whiston's* Cause

R Before the

Court of Delegates;

V I Z.

I. Mr. *Whiston's* REASONS against that Procedure.

II. The ARTICLES exhibited against him by Dr. *Pelling* in that Court.

III. Mr. *Whiston's* DEFENCE of himself from those ARTICLES.

To which are added

IV. His LETTER to the Reverend Dr. *Sacheverell*.

V. His LETTER to the Right Reverend the present Lord Bishop of *London*, with the Answers.

VI. His Letter to the Reverend Mr. *Broughton*, with his Answer.

L O N D O N :

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1715.

To the Right Reverend

Jonathan, Lord Bishop of Winchester,

George, Ld. Bishop of Bath & Wells,

William, lately Lord Bishop of Chester, *now York*

Philip, Lord Bishop of Hereford, *Norwich*

Adam, Lord Bishop of St. David's, *Bangor.*

Lincoln.

The Right Honourable

The Lord Treasurer, lately Lord Chief *King.*

Sec.

Justice of the Common-Pleas,

The Honourable Robert Tracy Esq; one

of the Justices of the Common-Pleas,

The Reverend

Robert Price Esq; one of the Barons of

the Exchequer,

The Right Worshipful

Robert Wood,

Charles Pinfold,

Thomas Paske,

William Phipps,

William Strahan,

} Doctors of Law,

Judges Delegates in this Cause of HERESY;

THESE REASONS and DEFENCE are

Humbly Dedicated by

THE AUTHOR.

To the Right Reverend

Forbes, Lord Bishop of Winchester,
George, Ld. Bishop of Bath & Wells,

~~William, lately Lord Bishop of Chester,~~
Philip, Lord Bishop of Hereford,
Adam, Lord Bishop of St. David's,

The Right Honourable

~~Robert Price Esq; one of the Barons of
the Exchequer,~~

The Right Worships

~~Robert Price Esq;
Charles Popham Esq;
Thomas Parker Esq;
William Pitt Esq;
William Sturges Esq;~~

Judges Delegates in this Cause of Heresy;

These Reasons and Defence are
Humbly Dedicated by

The AUTHOR.

REASONS

For not proceeding against

Mr. *WHISTON*,

BY THE

Court of Delegates.

IN A

LETTER

TO THE

Reverend Dr. *PELLING*,

Rector of St. *Ann's Westminster*.

Humbly offer'd to the Consideration of the Publick.

By a lover of Truth and True Religion.

The Third Edition.

REASONS

MR. WILKINSON

OF THE

Court of Delegates.

IN A

LETTER

TO THE

Respectable Delegates

Of the House of Burgesses.

Submitted to the Consideration of the Public

By a Society of Friends and True Patriots.

THE FIRST EDITION.

REASONS for not Proceeding against Mr. Whiston, &c.

Reverend Sir,

BEFORE I come to give you and the Publick my Reasons against that course of Legal Prosecution which you have occasion'd against Mr. *Whiston*, I must premise somewhat concerning the nature of that Prosecution, the Steps that have been taken therein already, in what forwardness it is, and how near to a final Determination by the Court of Delegates. The Reader therefore is to know, that you, Sir, tho' you were intirely unacquainted with Mr. *Whiston*, and before you ever so much as desir'd any private Discourse with, or gave any, either private or publick Admonition to him; did yet, the last Winter, offer your self as a *voluntary Promoter* or *Informers*, against him, for the suppos'd Crime of Heresy: This was done before Dr. *Harward*, Commissary of the Dean and Chapter's Court of St. Paul's, within whose peculiar Jurisdiction, it seems Mr. *Whiston's* Habitation is. Dr. *Harward*, upon Consideration of the Nature of the Cause, and its legal Punishment; which is, at the very first, Degradation from the Ministerial Function, declar'd, that because he was a Lay-Man himself, and had not his Commission from any Bishop, it was not in his Power to Degrade a Clergyman: and by Consequence it was not in his Power to judge of the Crime of Heresy, whereto that Degradation belong'd. So Dr. *Harward* refus'd

the Cause; but in such a manner, that he sent it, by Petition, to the Dean of the Arches, Dr. *Bettesworth*, as the proper Superior Judge, to whom he suppos'd it must now belong. But the Dean, upon Hearing the Cause, gave it for his Opinion and Determination, that this matter not coming to him by Appeal, as Causes ought to do in his Court; and the Cause it self having been already taken under the Cognizance of the Convocation; nay, and belonging properly to the Bishop of *London's* Jurisdiction, he could not receive it in this first Instance, and so dismiss'd it. Upon this second Disappointment, after some Delay, you, Sir, procur'd the Lord Chancellor to appoint a Court of Delegates, which is the last usual Resort in Causes of Appeal, to determine whether Dr. *Bettesworth* had deny'd Justice in this Cause, or not; without any direct regard farther to Mr. *Whiston* himself, or his Cause.

The Delegates appointed, were, the Bishops of *Winton, Bath and Wells, Hereford, St. Davids and Chester*; the Lord Chief Justice *Trevor*, Mr. Justice *Tracy*, and Mr. Baron *Price*; Dr. *Wood*, Dr. *Pinfold*, Dr. *Paske*, Dr. *Phipps*, and Dr. *Strabian*. The Bishops and Civilians had two preliminary Hearings at the *Doctor's-Commons*, *ad informandum*, as the term is; and at last, *July 1.* the Judges met them at *Serjeant's-Inn*, and all heard the Cause pleaded at large, both by Civilians and Common Lawyers. Upon which they came to a final Determination and Judgment, *viz.* that Dr. *Bettesworth* had given a false Sentence; that the Cause did lie before him, and that he ought to have proceeded therein: Nay, what is the most extraordinary of all, and was very surprizing to not a few skill'd in such matters; The Majority of the same Court agreed to retain the Original Cause it self in the first Instance; tho' under pretence, that it came incidently before them

them, by way of Appeal. Accordingly they order'd a Citation for Mr. *Whiston* to appear before them the first Court-Day of the next Term, or Monday *October 26.* between Three and Five a Clock in the Afternoon, in the Hall of *Doct^r's-Commons.* This Citation was deliver'd to him *October 12.* On the Day appointed, he came by Four a Clock ; but the Court was then risen, and had declar'd him guilty of Contempt. Thus far by way of Preparation.

Now the Reasons I would humbly offer to your self, and the Publick, against going on any farther with Mr. *Whiston* in this way of Prosecution, are these.

(1.) This Method of Prosecution seems plainly to be *Unfair*, and contrary to the common Rules of Justice and Equity. For 'tis apparent, that Mr. *Whiston* has been guilty of no real Crime in this matter. He is not only a Christian in general, but a Clergyman in particular. One, who by his very Office is bound diligently to enquire after, and publickly to preach the true Word of God, the real Doctrines and Duties of the Gospel of Christ. One that accordingly appears to have us'd his utmost Diligence to understand and discover what those real Doctrines and Duties were; and that by having direct recourse to the Fountain-head itself, the sacred Scriptures, the ancient Creeds, with all the Original and most Primitive Books of the Christian Religion. He thence collected the Texts and Testimonies relating to some of the most important Articles of Christianity: And when he was preparing that Collection for the Publick, he acquainted the Vice-Chancellor of the University where he then liv'd, and the Governors of the Church; particularly the Bishop of his Diocese, and the Archbishops of both Provinces, as well as several other Learned Men, with his Design; and fairly offer'd his Papers to their perusal, examination,

nation, and correction. Hear how largely and movingly he represents the Fairness of his Proceedings, in one of his Papers*.

" I shall conclude, says he, this small Paper with a
 " melancholy Reflection on the sad State of Christi-
 " anity, and of the Protestant Reformatioon among
 " us; particularly with relation to those concerning
 " Affairs I am so deeply engag'd in. I have Books
 " and Doctrines which appear to be of the most sacred
 " Nature imaginable, to propose to the Christian
 " World: Of no less Consequence than what do
 " claim to be the Original Settlement of the Chri-
 " stian Church; and the most uncorrupt *Faith once*
 " *deliver'd to the Saints*. I have labour'd in the most
 " inoffensive way, to procure them a fair, an open,
 " and a publick Examination. I have all along had
 " the greatest regard to the Peace of the Church, to
 " the Honour of the Clergy, and to all lawful Au-
 " thority. And in my Letter to the Archbishop of
 " *Canterbury*, I have freely own'd any Rashness or
 " Mismanagement in the Manner and Circumstan-
 " ces of my acting, and begg'd the Pardon of God
 " and of all good Men, for any Errors of that na-
 " ture. I have freely declar'd, that I have not en-
 " deavour'd to revive the *Heresy of Arius*, but only
 " to recommend the most Ancient Sacred Doctrines
 " and Duties of Christianity. I am ready to exa-
 " mine all over again with any of the Learned; and
 " to correct all Mistakes, and to retract all Er-
 " rors that shall any way appear; even still, after
 " that full Examination I have already made. I
 " am farther, most willing and ready to do any
 " thing that is not inconsistent with Truth, Sincer-
 " ity, and a good Conscience, and with my Faith-
 " fulness to what I am fully convinc'd, are the Truths

* Reply to Dr. Allix, p. 21, 22, 23, 24.

“ of Christ Jesus, which by any just Authority shall
 “ be expected from me, or propos’d to me, in order
 “ to Peace and publick Satisfaction. I have waited
 “ a long time to see, if any of the Learned can give
 “ me any new Light, or can deny the Evidence that I
 “ have to publish. I have try’d all the proper
 “ Places for the Recommendation of the Examina-
 “ tion of my Papers. I have spar’d no Pains, nor
 “ Cost, even beyond my own Abilities, to pro-
 “ cure the best Collations and Translations, and to
 “ find out the best Records, for the most compleat
 “ Information of the Publick. I have procur’d all
 “ the Assistance I could, and earnestly desir’d of
 “ all the Learned, to join with me in the right sta-
 “ ting these important Matters. I have, God is my
 “ Witness, done all this from a Principle of Hone-
 “ sty and Conscience ; have earnestly implored the
 “ Divine Assistance and Blessing ; have hazarded
 “ my self and my Family to considerable Inconve-
 “ niencies and Losses ; have actually, yet patiently,
 “ suffer’d many Reproaches and Abuses, and a ve-
 “ ry hard Sentence of Banishment, from that Uni-
 “ versity whereto I belong. Yet after all, from the
 “ Violence with which some in the Convocation
 “ seem to act against me, whom I have not the Ho-
 “ nour to be well known to, and who therefore
 “ cannot easily be made sensible of all things in my
 “ Case, I am not without the apprehension of a
 “ severe Sentence from the same Convocation ; e-
 “ ven before any fair Examination. I mean a Sen-
 “ tence of Excommunication : To be thereby, as far
 “ as is possible, cut off from the Visible Church
 “ of Christ ; to be excluded all publick Christian
 “ Worship ; and, as far as lies in Men, to be delivered
 “ over unto Satan ; to be render’d however uncapa-
 “ ble of making a Will, or suing for a Debt ; to
 “ be put into a State where I may be laid into
 “ the Gaol, and there confin’d till I do what seems

“ to me, according to the full Convictions I am at
 “ present under, very near renouncing Christianity
 “ it self. And all this I fear from my Brethren,
 “ sometimes from my Friends, from Fellow-Chri-
 “ stians, Fellow-Clergymen, nay, Bishops of the
 “ Church: And all this at the same time that the
 “ Learned seem not willing to answer my Argu-
 “ ments; at least not before the Persecution of my
 “ Person. If this be agreeable to the meek and
 “ gentle Nature of the Gospel; to the main Foun-
 “ dations of the Reformed Religion; to the Do-
 “ ctrine and Profession of the best Members of the
 “ Church of England, I own I have never rightly
 “ understood them; nor can I indeed reconcile such
 “ Treatment with common Justice and Humanity.
 “ But if there be no Remedy, but I must be made
 “ a Sacrifice, I humbly beg of the Divine Majesty,
 “ that I may my self however always act as becomes
 “ a Christian: That I may *run with Patience the*
 “ *Race that is set before me*; that I may, with Trust
 “ and Comfort, *Look unto Jesus the Author and Fi-*
 “ *nisher of our Faith*; who for the Joy that was set
 “ before him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame;
 “ and is, after all his Sufferings, *sat down at the*
 “ *right Hand of the Throne of God*: And may Consi-
 “ der him who endured such contradiction of Sinners
 “ against himself, lest I be weary, and faint in my
 “ Mind. Amen, Amen.”

So that I think 'tis almost impossible to suppose
 Mr. Whiston guilty of any Crime in this matter; and
 by consequence, utterly absurd and unreasonable to
 inflict any Punishment on him on that account;
 which yet, you, Sir, by bringing him before the
 Court of Delegates, are now aiming to do.

Besides, this Proceeding seems *Unfair* upon ano-
 ther Account, I mean, because 'tis only gone upon
 after the really Learned and Judicious act as if they
 deserted the Cause of Orthodoxy; as not having
 ventur'd

ventur'd to have it openly and freely debated with Mr. *Whiston*, before the Convocation, or any Committee thereof; or indeed in any free and publick Conference whatsoever, either at the Universities, or elsewhere, as appears by his printed Accounts of those matters. Nay, even those very Men that publickly Accuse, or Preach against Mr. *Whiston* themselves, are said, even when never so calmly and friendly invited thereto, most solicitously to avoid any such free Conference or Debate also. Now after this, to prosecute him in a Court of Law, seems very strange and unaccountable. Had the Learned, either by Writing or Conference, once openly and clearly convicted him of Error, in the Judgment of the Impartial; and had they once satisfied the World that his Doctrines were false, and that he was only peevish and obstinate in supporting groundless Paradoxes, contrary to Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity, somewhat might be said to excuse this way of Prosecution: but till this is done, it cannot but appear utterly unjustifiable. Nay, indeed it seems not only to be intirely *unfair*, but even *absurd* in you, to appeal to a Court of Law to judge thus about a bare Matter of Fact; such as Mr. *Whiston's* Account of the original Christian Doctrines is; when it properly and singly belongs, in its own nature, to the Learned to Examine, whether that Account be true or not. 'Tis just like appealing to a Vote of a Court, or of the Convocation, whether my Lord *Clarendon* be an exact Historian, or whether Dean *Prideaux* has given a faithful Account of the Life of *Mahomet* or not. if Mr. *Whiston* had pretended to any New Doctrines, it might be voted, that the Church should not receive them; but when he only asserts a Fact, which I hope is no Fault, that such were the Doctrines of the first Ages, it seems unfair and absurd to attempt it.

(2.) This

(2.) This Method of yours, in prosecuting him before the Delegates, seems to be not only Unfair and Absurd, but utterly *Unchristian* also. 'Tis true, there is so little of real genuine Christianity left among us, that one can hardly tell whether this will have much weight in the present Case. I well remember the remarkable Words of a great Historian of our own concerning Cardinal *Wolsey*, and his Method of moving Cardinal *Campegio*, in King *Henry VIII's* Case; which I fear may be, but too truly apply'd in this. "*Wolsey*, says the Historian *, was so sincere, that in a Letter he wrote to *Campegio*, that of a good Conscience being put among other Motives to persuade him, in the first Draught, the Cardinal struck it out; as knowing how little it would signify." Yet in hopes that there are still several of the highest Rank in the Church, that consider themselves as *Christian Bishops*, as well as *Peers of the Realm*, or *Lords of Parliament*; some of the establish'd Clergy that consider themselves as *Christian Ministers*, as well as Officers of a Church establish'd by Law; and several even of the Judges and Students in the Common and Civil Laws, that don't forget they have been Baptiz'd into the Church of Christ, as well as are intrusted with Legal Powers by the State, or the Church as a part of the State; I venture to add this second, That this Procedure of yours against Mr. *Whiston*, seems to be plainly *Unchristian*, since it is aiming to punish him for exactly obeying the Laws of Christianity. Those Laws oblige him, and every Clergyman especially, to search the Scriptures; to have recourse to the Law and the Testimony; to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good; to hold to the pure Gospel of Christ, as deliver'd at the first; not only tho, a Church, a Synod, or a Ge-

* Burnet's Abridg. Hist. Ref. p. 41.

neral Council, but even *tho, an Apostle, or an Angel from Heaven should bring any other Doctrine*; nay, to preach Christ's true Religion, *tho, it be to Bonds and Death it self; to hate Father, and Mother, and Wife, and Children, and Brethren, and Sisters, and his own Life also*; and this as ever he hopes for the Rewards of a *Disciple of Christ*. And how earnestly he desires that true Primitive Christianity may obtain, hear from his own Words, in the beginning of his Enquiries into those Matters: 'And O, says * he, that I might live to see that happy Day here in *Great Britain*! when Publick Authority, Ecclesiastical and Secular, should depute a Committee of Learned, Impartial, and Pious Men, with this Commission, that they diligently, freely, and honestly examine her present Constitution in all its parts, and bring in an unbiass'd and unprejudic'd Account of her Defects and Aberrations, whether in Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline, of all sorts, from the Primitive Standards, in order to their effectual Correction and Reformation.† Then would our *Sion* be indeed a *Praise in the Earth*; the Darling and Pattern of all the other Protestant Churches in the World: And by such an illustrious Precedent would effectually recommend the like Reformation to all the other Churches, and so become the Foundation and Center of their Unity, Love and Peace; and thereby most effectually hasten the coming of that glorious Day of God, when, according to our Lord's most sure Promise, and that of the Father also, *We look for new Heavens and a new Earth*; a new and better State of the Church here on Earth, wherein *Righteousness will dwell*, till it end in the glorious *Millennium*, the Kingdom of our Lord, advanc'd to 'its high-

* *Sermons and Essays*, p. 80, 81.

est Perfection, and spread over the Face of the whole World, till the Consummation of all things.*

Who that observes that honest Spirit that appears in these and many other Passages, and observes the peaceable Method he professes to aim at all along, can think it other than *Unchristian*, to prosecute and punish him for the same; especially when it is so evidently against his worldly Interest, that 'tis hard to suppose any thing but Conscience and a Sense of Duty could influence him in this his hazardous Undertaking;†

Hear the words of a most noted Person, in a most noted Case, not wholly remote from that before us *. 'How hard are our Circumstances, if we must be punish'd in this World for doing that, which if we do not, we shall be more heavily punish'd in the next! What a Condition are we in, if we are commanded to cry aloud, and spare not, to exhort, rebuke, in season and out of season, on the one hand; and prosecuted, imprison'd, ruin'd on the other! if this be our Case——' But to proceed.

(3) 'Tis very doubtful, whether this Prosecution before the Delegates be *Legal* or not. For 'tis well known, that the Court of Delegates are only the last Resort by way of *Appeal*, from the Sentences of the inferior Spiritual Courts; and have nothing to do in *Original Causes*. Nor does there, as I am inform'd, appear one Precedent in all the Records of such a Procedure herein; it being evident, that Mr. *Whiston* was never so much as cited by any Spiritual Court before; and that he was not made a Party in the Appeal about Dr. *Bettsworth*, which the present Court of Delegates were appointed to determine. Nor indeed does it seem very agreea-

* Vid. *Sacheverell's Trial*. p. 349. l. ult.

ble to the Rights and Liberties of *Englishmen*, that in any such Case the first Court should be final, and admit of no certain and regular Appeal therefrom: which yet must be the Case in this Court of Delegates, as to Mr. *Whiston*, if it be allow'd to proceed in the present Prosecution. Nay indeed, it will deserve to be consider'd, how far the Court of Delegates will herein differ from that High Commission Court, which is now wholly taken away by Law; on which occasion 'tis also Enacted, That *no Court should be thenceforth erected with like Power, Jurisdiction, or Authority; but that Commissions erecting any such Court should be void.* If this Method of Proceeding be unprecedented and *Illegal*, will it not concern every Subject of *Great Britain* to put a stop to it?

(4.) All such rigorous Prosecutions for the sake of Religion, seem to be quite contrary to the present Method of Proceedings in all other Cases relating thereto. Not the *Jews* only, but the several Sects of Christians, are by us either tolerated, or not disturb'd in their several Persuasions: The very Deists are not prosecuted; nay, one noted Person, who is hardly, that I can find, so much as suspected of believing the Christian Religion, is highly prefer'd in the Church: And as for the Prosecution of Vice, Immorality, and Debauchery, there are few such *voluntary Promoters* as you, Sir, are in this Case. Must then poor Mr. *Whiston* be singl'd out from the rest, and be alone made a Sacrifice; because he thinks he has been so successful to discover, and is certainly so honest as to profess, what upon Enquiry he takes for the true, ancient, and most primitive Doctrines of Christianity? Can the Church and State bear all sorts of suppos'd Sects and Heresies, but that, which for certain has, of them all, the best Title to above Three intire Centuries? Must Liberty of Conscience be allow'd to all but those who have so fair a Plea
to

to be the Followers of Christ and his Apostles? This is a very hard Case indeed, and well worthy the Consideration of every Christian, before he engages himself in such a Prosecution.

(5.) Such violent Methods of Proceeding must needs be a great *Hindrance to Sacred Learning*, or at least, to any Advantage to the Publick therefrom. For if honest and inquisitive Men may not be allow'd to discover any thing that is contrary to the present Belief and Practice of the Church, when they read and examine the original Books of Christianity, it will be found to be safer to be Ignorant, or to conceal the Knowledge of them, than to know or disclose them; much safer for the Learned to divert their Studies, or to disguise their real Thoughts, and play the Hypocrites with God and Men, than to discover their Sentiments. This Consequence of Prosecution is so notorious, that it has now no small Effects in the Discouragement of Learning and Sincerity, not only in Popish, but in Protestant Countries also: where it is still not a little dangerous to examine too far, and speak too freely in Points settled by Legal Authority. Nor had the Christian World had the Benefit of the Labours of the Learned and Pious Dr. *Grabe* himself, who was almost forc'd to fly out of his own Country for his too plain Discoveries and Discourses there, had not this Nation prov'd a Refuge to him; and, without Enquiries, in order to any Prosecution, encourag'd him to recover the Original Remains of the first Ages, how little soever some of them suited the present Notions and Practices among us. And I dare say if once the Terror of worldly Fear, Disgrace, Loss, and Prosecution were over, those that are capable, would soon discover and lay open not a few things to the publick Benefit of Christianity; which they now either dare not find, or dare not own they have found,

found, for fear of such Disadvantages and Prosecutions. Nor would so many of our really great Men, divert themselves from the Study of Divine Matters, if they could be as safe there as elsewhere. Nor can this terrible Inconvenience be generally avoided, but by encouraging free Enquiries after Truth, and laying aside all such Prosecutions on the Discovery and Declaration of it.

(6.) This Method of prosecuting Men at Law for honestly Speaking or Writing what is the result of their Enquiries, is the known way of *preventing all Reformation* of what is amiss ; and so is in all Protestant and Reformed Churches utterly unreasonable and unjustifiable. Let us suppose our first Reformers had been all prosecuted, and that such Prosecutions had deterr'd them for any Examination, or at least from Speaking or Writing what they found against the Novel Doctrines of Popery ; which were then as much establish'd by Law, as any *Athanasian* Doctrines now can be : Where had the Protestant Reformation been at this day ! Nay, let us suppose the same as to the Gospel it self, and its Doctrines ; and that Christ and his Apostles had been discourag'd by the Jewish and Heathen Prosecutions against it, from Preaching it to the World : where had our very common Christianity been at this time ? In reality, all Improvements for the better, whether in Philosophy or Divinity, must at first be made in opposition to the settled Philosophy and Divinity of those Times and Places wherein they are introduc'd. Nor, methinks, did the Papists proceed much more absurdly, in not examining, but prosecuting the famous *Galileo*, for his Assertion about the Motion of the Earth ; which was then a notorious Heresy in Philosophy ; and forcing him to recant it, than the Protestants in not examining, but prosecuting Mr. *Whiston* for his pretended Heretical Assertions now, and under the
utmost

utmost Penalties the Law can inflict, to oblige him to recant the same. But however, as notwithstanding that foolish Prosecution of *Galileo*, his Doctrine prevail'd by its own native Evidence, and the Observations that afterwards confirm'd it, and is now the universal Belief of Astronomers; while the former Philosophick Orthodoxy is exploded for ever: so do I believe will these Doctrines, which are now discourag'd, prevail by their own original Evidence, and the farther Enquiries of the Learned, till the present Errors, which are unsupported by real Evidence, will gradually wear away, and disappear out of the Christian World.

(7.) This Method of Prosecution can have no good Effect, as to Mr. *Whiston* and his *Soul's Health*, which the Citation assures us, in the *only Intention* of the same: Nor can it tend at all to his Conviction. Mr. *Whiston* is one who seems very unlikely to be influenc'd by such a Prosecution. He ever indeed professes himself ready to yield to real Original Evidence, and to have drawn his present Notions from that alone. But he appears not to have the least Value for any Modern Authorities, Opinions, or Votes, where he finds them contradictory to the other. And he is known to be so confident of his Sacred and Original Evidence in this Case, that he has frequently and publickly declar'd, that he would have burnt his Papers if the *Athanasians* could produce one tenth part of those Texts and Testimonies, in Three intire Centuries, for their Doctrines, that he has done, or is ready to doe for his. Yet does he profess himself ready to re-examine, and review all over again with any of the Learned, and to amend all Mistakes, or correct all Errors that shall be discover'd thereby: ready to receive new Light in these or any other Matters, and to alter his Opinions and Practices thereupon. So that if the *Athanasians* have real Evidence

dence on their side, and will produce it, he must be ready certainly to give it its due weight ; and if it be convincing, to be determin'd by it. But if instead of that Fair, Scholar-like, and Christian Method, he be only referr'd to a Legal Court, made up in great part of Temporal Judges, and Civil Lawyers, and of Bishops only in a Legal Capacity ; the World cannot expect that such Proceedings will have any Influence upon him. On the contrary, he will certainly look on all this as a sure sign that his Enemies despair of doing any thing by the way of Argument and Reasoning, since they are driven to Violence and Prosecution. He will be thereby confirm'd in his Notions, to the last degree ; nay, he will undoubtedly look on this as a plain Suffering for his Conscience, his Religion, and his Christianity ; and will rejoice in being so far a Confessor of the Faith of Christ. For There are, I believe, none that know him, that so much as hope for any Recantation from him by this Method of Proceeding ; no, not tho' the Publick should proceed to Excommunicate, and Imprison, as well as Degrade him. Nor can all this have any effect for the Good of his Soul. Such Treatment may be, I confess, a great Temptation to Men to Partiality, and Hypocrisy and Prevarication, on one side ; or to Passion, Resentment, and Discontent on the other : But what possible Advantage it can bring to their Souls, or what possible Good it can do as to their Salvation, any otherwise than by their patient Sufferings, it is not easy to tell. And indeed many others besides himself will be ready to look upon this, in some degree, under the same Notion that we all have of a Popish Inquisition, or a Heathen Persecution, and no otherwise, and will encourage and assist him to undergo it with the like Christian Fortitude which all sincere Protestants and true Christians endeavour to shew under such terrible Tryals.

but hear Mr. *Whistons*'s most solemn Appeal, prepar'd for the Convocation long since, and then judge, whether it be probable, that this Prosecution, without any farther Examination, can be suppos'd to tend to his Conviction.

* Since you, says he, who are Christian Bishops and Presbyters, have refus'd to examine the Papers I have offer'd to lay before you, concerning the Original Doctrines and Books of our Christian Religion, and seem resolv'd to censure my Doctrines notwithstanding, without such Examination; I do solemnly Protest against your Proceedings: and do here, in the Presence of the great God the Father, of his Only Begotten Son, of his Holy Spirit, and of the ministring Angels, who are present, and Witnesses at this Solemn Assembly, appeal from your Censure, to that awful Tribunal of Almighty God, at the great and dreadful Day of Judgment when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be reveal'd, and all unjust Sentences revers'd. I do also solemnly here Declare, that on a full Enquiry, I do verily believe the *Constitutions of the Apostles* to be the most Sacred of the Canonical Books of the New Testament; and undeniably attested to by the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, and the larger *Epistles of Ignatius*: That therefore by refusing to examine those Books, you have so far rejected and renounced Christianity it self, and must give a terrible Account at the Great Day, of such your Rejection of the same. I do moreover, with all due Reverence, Fear and Regard to the Presence of the Searcher of all Hearts, appeal to his Divine Majesty, that I have acted uprightly and honestly in this matter; and do solemnly cite every one of you, who shall, without Examination, consent to any Censure upon my Doctrines, to the Judgment-Seat of Christ; there

to give an Account of such your Proceedings. I do
 also humbly implore of his Divine Majesty, that
 if, in consequence of this Censure, any of you shall
 venture, so far as in you lies, to cut me off from the
 Communion of Christ's visible Church on Earth, for
 doing my Duty to my Lord and Saviour, in these
 most Sacred and important Matters, he will be plea-
 s'd still to continue me a Member of his invisible
 Church, whose Names are written in Heaven :
 That he will direct, guide, and support me in all my
 Doings : That he will enable me to bear this Vio-
 lence and Persecution with a meek and patient Mind,
 and entire Resignation to his holy Will ; and will
 still make me an Instrument of spreading his true
 Religion, and of hastening the coming of the King-
 dom of my Blessed Lord and Saviour, *Amen.*

So that 'tis most evident, this Prosecution can have
 no Success, as to what is pretended to be the *only De-*
sign of it, I mean Mr. *Whiston's* Conviction ; and by
 Consequence ought not to be gone on withal any
 farther.

(8) This Method of Prosecution can be to no pur-
 pose as to his real *Degradation* and *Silence*, any far-
 ther than his own Conscience has made him uncapa-
 ble of exercising his Ministerial Function in the Esta-
 blish'd Church already. Those that are acquainted
 with his Notions, know that he is intirely guided by
 the Laws in the Apostolical Constitutions, which he
 owns as the principal of the Canonical Books of the
 New Testament ; that he believes the State has pro-
 perly no Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs ; that even
 the Clergy themselves have no Power to make new
 Laws for Christians ; but that they are singly to exe-
 cute the Laws that Christ, by his Apostles and their
 Companions, has deliver'd to them : that no one,
 whether of the Clergy or Laity, are to be Censur'd,
 Suspended, Depriv'd, or Excommunicated but by the
 Bishop of every Diocese, as assist'd and supported by

his own Presbyters, Deacons, and People, and with their Approbation ; and that only according to those Laws ; without the least addition of Temporal Penalties : That therefore such a Court as this, founded wholly on the Civil Authority, and acting wholly by human Laws, without taking the least notice of the Archbishop of the Province, or of the very Bishop, Presbyters, Deacons, or People of the Diocese, has no farther than a Civil Power ; can only Degrade, or Suspend, or Excommunicate, legally, and with respect to the Establish'd Church of *England, i. e.* That it can only take away all his Rights and Powers, as he is yet a Legal Member and Minister of that Church : can render him incapable of a Living, can make his Ministrations of no force in the Law, &c. but can no way affect his Spiritual State, either as a Christian, or as a Clergyman, or indeed with regard to any other Societies of Christians in the World. Whence he will probably look upon himself as a Presbyter of the Christian Church still, and perhaps will act accordingly, notwithstanding any Sentence which this, or any the like Civil Court can inflict upon him. So that this Prosecution must be to little purpose on this Account ; because it can have no Effect upon him, as to even his real Degradation, or Silence, more than his own Conscience has already in a manner, inflicted upon him : It being well known, that Mr. *Whiston* would not sign the 39 Articles of the Establish'd Church any more, for the greatest Preferments in it. And the Publick may therefore be pretty secure, that he cannot act any thing considerable as a Member of the same, to its dissatisfaction, even without a Degradation by the Court of Delegates.

(9) This Method of Prosecution is so far from being likely to silence Mr. *Whiston*, that it is one of the most probable means to drive him, and those of his Persuasion, into an open Separation, and what the

the Publick will esteem a *Schism* in the Church ; which tho small at first, may come to be very considerable in time. He has been very tender hitherto, of doing any thing in an unpeaceable way, or in the least like what might be thought Disorderly or Schismatical ; even tho he has been so long deny'd full Communion with the Establish'd Church. And, perhaps, if the Church would openly allow him, and those of his Persuasion to join with them, so far as their Consciences will permit, while they may publicly dissent from the rest, he and they might satisfy themselves yet longer in the Communion of the Church. But can it be expected, that if he and they be so far from the allowance of full Communion on those Terms, that he is Degraded and Excommunicated for those Notions, they will thereupon turn Heathens, and live without all Publick Worship of God among them ? No certainly. I believe they are not so bad Christians, or so insensible of their religious Obligations, as to go no long in that way. So that if there be any Intention by this procedure, to guard against a new Separation, or what will be called a Schism in the Church, this is the direct Method of procuring, instead of preventing the same. Besides,

(10.) This Method of Prosecution will certainly occasion the *Spreading* of Mr. *Whiston's* Opinions very much in the World ; and so those that are desirous to stop them, such as you, Sir, who are his Prosecutor, make use of the most disagreeable Means possible. I own, I cannot my self use this as an Argument for the laying aside this Prosecution ; because I believe his Doctrines, at least for the main, to be true, and so cannot but wish, that so far they may become universal. Yet do I think the Prosecutors ought to consider it. Prosecution, as has been already observ'd, was one great means of spreading the Christian and the Protestant Religion ; and what has been already
done

done to him, has occasion'd his Case and Books to be much enquir'd after and read: Nay, I have been well inform'd, that the Convocation's Vehemence against him, procur'd him not a few of his Subscriptions for his Four Volumes; which otherwise he would have found great Difficulty to have printed. If indeed we had here a Popish Inquisition, and could torture and burn any that should be judg'd Hereticks, this sort of Prosecution might have terrible Effects, and might affright many from attempting to make Converts: But since the utmost that the Law permits, is bare Imprisonment, under which any one may still write and print as he pleases, it ought to be consider'd, whether Papers written under Bonds and from a Prison, will not, in that Case, have rather more Influence than if the Writer were at liberty. So that it seems to me that this Prosecution will spread his Doctrines much farther than they could otherwise be propagated without it. Nothing, for certain, can stop any such Opinions in a free Nation, such as ours yet is, but a full Examination, and thorow Confutation by the Learned, instead of Courts and Sentences, according to the present Laws: at least, unless those Courts and Sentences could go to greater extremities than our Laws permit. Yet even those Methods do not always succeed: For the *Blood of the first Christians was the Seed and Multiplication of the Church*: And Bonner and Gardiner, with their Fires, burned Popery so thorowly out of England, that it will not easily be re-admitted.

(11.) This Method of Prosecution seems intirely Antichristian and Popish, and utterly unfit to be made use of in a Reformed Kingdom. I own, I am intirely of the mind of a great and good Man, when he says *, 'Such Prosecutions tend to the Re-

* Limborch Epist. ad Locke. p. 455.

' proach of the Reformed Churches; for a Tribunal to punish Men for their Belief, seems to me to
 ' be equally contrary to Christian Charity, whether
 ' it be constituted at *Rome*, or *Geneva*, or *London*;
 ' for 'tis the same Cruelty, only exercis'd in different
 ' Places, and by different Persons.' Nay, I think,
 Prosecution on a religious Account, one of the surest and worst Characteristicks of the Antichristian Church her self; and those Remains of it which are yet among us, I esteem one of the surest Signs that we are not yet got wholly clear of that State. And I cannot but think it worse, more unreasonable, and unjustifiable in Protestants, whose very Reformation stands upon free Examination, and which it self suffer'd sore Persecution for a time, than in the Papists themselves; who submitting to a pretended infallible Church, and not owning the Liberty of Examination, have more Pretences for countenancing such Barbarity among them than the others. And I hope the present Ministry will hardly think it proper to permit such a Prosecution to be carry'd on at this time especially, since there are at present such fears of Popery, of a Popish Pretender, and a Popish Persecution. For all these Suspicions will be but increas'd by the present Prosecution: It being obvious to every one to consider, that if the Court of Delegates, all nam'd by one Person, can take the original Cognizance of Mr. *Whiston* in this Case; and can, without Appeal, determine about him so far, that the natural Consequence of it may be Imprisonment, during Life; the same Court, especially if once it comes into Popish hands, may certainly do the like to any other Person in *England* also.

(12.) This Method of Prosecution, which looks to be properly for Conscience sake, will make Mr. *Whiston*, and those of his Mind, too considerable in the World, and will gain them a greater Reputation than they either desire or deserve; and therefore

it ought not to be gone on with. How great a Reputation may be gain'd by even a seeming Persecution for Conscience, may be guess'd by the famous Instance of Dr. *Sacheverell*, and his Tryal: For tho he was himself otherwise a Person of no Character or Consideration at all, yet by appearing a sort of Confessor for the current Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as it has been of late explain'd from some Texts of Scripture, to what a height of Reputation did he rise, and what a prodigious Noise and Bustle has he made in the World? This is so remarkable an instance, and so late an one also, as ought not to be soon forgotten. Tho Religion, alas! be too little the Concern of this Nation, yet are the *English* in general, not incapable of Impression in such matters, particularly in the Case where they see honest and religious Men, own'd for such by all, to be prosecuted or persecuted for doing what they judge to be their Duty, as Christians, or Clergymen. And tho they may bear a few such Instances patiently, yet if they should see one pious and religious Man after another, still brought into this Court, and without any evident Cause but their Conscience, prosecuted there; they may at last be quite weary of such a Procedure, and no longer endure even a more regular Exercise of the same Power. However, if Mr. *Whiston* and his Friends begin to be considerable and dangerous to the Publick already, as this Prosecution supposes, nothing can make them so considerable and so dangerous, as the same Method of Prosecution against them.

(13.) The Attempts to crush Mr. *Whiston* in any such way as this, have hitherto had so little Success, that it may discourage the Publick from any the like Endeavours hereafter. For, give me leave to ask, What harm to his Doctrines or Reputation, did his Banishment from *Cambridge* do, even in the same University? What good to the *Athanasian* Cause, did

did the Convocation's Censure of some of his Opinions do ? And indeed, considering that Censure was voted with so great difference in each House, and with such a gross Mistake in a famous Point of Learning in both, and was endeavour'd most solicitously to be conceal'd afterward, I dare say, he looks upon that Censure as not at all to the Disadvantage of his Cause. Besides, what discredit did the Lower-House's *Representation* do him, even as to his Reputation ? while the several Insinuations against him, therein contain'd, were so immediately disprov'd by him. Nor has any one undertaken to vindicate, either the University or the Convocation, from his severe, but, I fear, too true Histories of their Proceedings relating to him. So that to what purpose, you, Sir, should engage this Court of Delegates in a Cause, that has hitherto been to so little Advantage, I can by no means understand. Let us suppose that this Court goes through the Cause, and convicts Mr. *Whiston* of Legal Heresy ; that thereupon he is, with great Pomp and Ceremony, degraded ; that he is afterwards excommunicated also ; and that at last, the Writ, *De Excommunicato Capiendo*, is taken out against him, and he is laid in Prison : What good will all this do to the Church or State ? Whom will it convince, that he is in the wrong ? or to what good purpose will such a Prosecution serve ? unless it be to the greater private spreading of his Doctrines, and the greater publick Hypocrisy and Dissimulation in Mens not daring openly to own it. Which two things are indeed not unlikely to be the Consequences of it : tho I cannot but think it will deserve to be consider'd, whether they are such as the Publick will have reason to rejoice in. But,

(14.) It is probable, that it may all *come to nothing*, and that the Delegates may not be able, by any means, to convict Mr. *Whiston* even of Legal Heresy. The Generality indeed, who are unacquainted with the

the State of^d Controversy, and who run away with Names only, will readily condemn him as an *Arian* Heretick; and will plead the Authority of the Council of *Nice* for his condemnation immediately. But those who consider the bottom of that Matter, and peruse his late * remarkable Papers upon this Subject, supported by a full Collection of the Authentick Records themselves, will soon find that there is no just Foundation for such a Charge; that the *Eusebians*, of whose Opinions he ever owns himself to be, were most unjustly charg'd with the *Arian* Heresy by the *Athanasians*; that, on the contrary, they always disapprov'd, and sometimes anathematiz'd the same; that the Council of *Nice* is rather of his side in almost all his Articles; and that the *Athanasian* Doctrine seems rather to be Heretical, by the original Records of that Council. So that unless the Church can expect that this Court should Hear nothing, but Vote directly without, or against plain Evidence and original Records, it cannot promise it self any Advantage; but rather, that it must openly clear him, and thereby recommend his Doctrines more effectually to the World. Which Consequence, tho I own I should not be sorry to see, for the sake of Truth and Christianity; yet do I not suppose that it is at all aim'd at in this Prosecution, but will rather be a Motive to drop the same.

(15.) This Prosecution of Mr, *Whiston* will, in all probability, tend at last, to the *Shame* and *Reproach* of the Prosecutors, and of the Church it self; and so ought not to be gone on with. For to say nothing of his Friend's and his own noble Discovery of the Longitude at Sea, (which they are now laying before the Publick, and for which, if it succeed, the Publick cannot but highly esteem and reward them, and

* Council of *Nice* vindicated from the *Athanasian* Heresy, and Scheme of the antient Creeds.

look very meanly on those that endeavour to crush any noble Discoveries, for the Benefit of the Publick.) I expect that this matter will tend to their Shame and Reproach on another account also; I mean, because I believe his Doctrines will notwithstanding certainly gain ground, and gradually prevail in the World: and this among others, for the Reasons following. (1.) They are most agreeable to common Sense, and the Light of Nature, which the *Athanasian* are not. (2.) They are most agreeable to God's ancient Revelations to the Patriarchs, and to the *Jews*, as they were ever understood till the days of *Athanasius*; which the other are not. (3.) They are most agreeable to the obvious natural Sense of Scripture, which the other are not. (4.) They are most agreeable to the obvious natural Sense of the *Ante-nicene* Fathers, which the other are not. (5.) They are generally agreeable to the Opinions of the Council of *Nice* it self, which the other are not. (6.) The really Learned and Judicious have many Years been coming nearer and nearer to these Doctrines; and those of them that are now alive, do generally either write for, or do not write against them. (7.) The numerous Writers of Pamphlets for the Church, are so divided in their Schemes and Hypotheses, as must needs end in their Confusion. Some are in a manner profess'd Tritheists, and almost own three distinct Gods. Others are the plain Followers of the known Heretick *Sabellius*, and own three Modes only. Some are for three self-existing Beings in the same Essence; nay for a Communication of Self-existence it self; while others have run into the opposite Extreme of the very *Ebionite* or *Socinian* Heresy. Some are for a Notion between that of a real Being and a Mode; while others are for shutting their Eyes, and wrapping up the whole under an unintelligible Mystery. All which Divisions do certainly forebode nothing but Destruction to the common-

mon Notions. (8.) The most learned of the Defenders of the Church, are forc'd occasionally to make such large Concessions to Mr. *Whiston*, as utterly destroy their own Foundations. One confesses, that were it not for the Church's farther Determinations, he could be content with his Scheme. Another owns, that the *Ante-nicene* Fathers most commonly speak as if they were of his Sentiments. A third owns, that the very Council of *Nice* was in the main of his Opinion. A fourth, that the *Arian* or *Eusebian* Creeds themselves are generally very true, good, and Orthodox. A fifth confesses, that no other Eternity of our Saviour, but that before his Procession, Generation, or Creation, can be defended : and the like Concessions are made by others also. So that among them, they in a manner give up the whole Cause. (9.) The Reputation of *Athanasius* himself, is, by some late Discoveries, so broken, that it cannot but be a great Disgrace to the *Athanasian* Doctrine. (10.) Very few of any Consideration, whether of the Clergy or Laity, care now to defend the grand System of the common Doctrines, I mean the spurious *Athanasian* Creed ; and almost all agree, that the Damnatory Sentences therein are intolerable. (11.) Not one Person, that I have heard of, has of late examin'd these Points impartially in the Scriptures and first Writers themselves, who professes himself satisfy'd with the *Athanasian* Doctrines ; but many have own'd the contrary : Witness, among others, an honest and religious Society, who have declar'd themselves satisfy'd therein ; and the Reasons they go upon, will, I suppose, e'er long be made publick. (12.) The Progress these reviv'd Doctrines of Christianity have already made, is visibly so great among the truly Learned, the Honest, and the Inquisitive, that without pretending to Inspiration, one may foretel they will, by degrees, intirely prevail. In short, I will venture

to say, I verily believe, that if all who think with Mr. *Whiston*, as to the principal Points in Dispute, would speak and write their Minds as plainly as he has done, the Publick would soon find it was too late to stop the Progress of those Doctrines ; and would not think of so reproachful a thing as a Prosecution. Nor do I believe any one that expects the *Athanasian* Doctrines will soon be exploded, would be a Prosecutor.

These, Sir, are some of the obvious Reasons which move me to think that the present Prosecution of Mr. *Whiston*, or of any that are of his mind, before such a Court as that of the Delegates, ought not to be gone on with ; but that this Matter ought to be left to the Debates and Determinations of the Learned ; and that it may not be herein improper for you and others, rather to hearken to the prudent Advice of *Gamaliel* in a like Case : *Ye Men of Israel, take heed to your selves, what ye intend to do as touching these Men ; Acts v. 38. — Refrain from these Men, and let them alone ; for if this Council, or this Work be of Men, it will come to nought : But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it ; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God, ver. 38, 39.*

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the *Examiner*, in his Paper of that very day when Mr. *Whiston* was first to appear before the Delegates, on Monday *October 26.* does so openly set up a Convocation of only one *English* Province for the *Judge of Controversy* in these most important Matters ; and intimates a design of procuring them the Power of a supreme Judge in the Case of Heresy, to be exercis'd not only over Presbyters, but over Bishops themselves also : I shall desire that Author, and

and the Publick, to read, to consider carefully, and seriously reflect on the following Extract out of the publick Protestation against the Council of *Mantua* or *Trent*; which I take to be very remarkable.

A Protestation in the Name of the King [Henry VIII.] and the whole Counsel and Clergy of England, why they refuse to come to the Pope's Counsel (first at Mantua, then at Trent.) at his call.*

SEEING that the Bishop of *Rome* calleth Learned Men from all Parts, conducting them by great Rewards, making as many of them Cardinals as he thinketh most meet and most ready to defend Frauds and Untruths; we could not but with much anxiety, cast with our selves what so great a preparation of Wits should mean. As chance was, we ghesse'd even as it followed. We have been so long acquainted with *Romish* Subtilties, and Popish Deceits, that we well and easily judg'd the Bishop of *Rome* to intend an Assembly of his Adherents, and Men sworn to think all his Lusts to be Laws. We were not deceived, — to come and bolster up Errors, Frauds, Deceits, and Untruths. — What availeth it to come to this Council, where ye shall have no Place, except ye be known, both willing to oppress Truth, and also ready to confirm and stablish Errors? — Is it very like that these which prole for nothing but Profit, will right gladly pull down all such things as their Forefathers made, only for the increase of Mony? Whereas their Forefathers, when their Honour, Power, and Primacy was call'd into question, would, either in despite of God's Law, maintain their Dignity, or, to say better, their intolerable Pride; Is it like, that these will not tread in their Steps, and make

* Fox's *Ab. Mon.* Vol. II. p. 372, &c.

' naughty new Canons, whereby they may defend
 ' old evil Decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care,
 ' either what they have done, or what they intend to
 ' do hereafter; forasmuch as *England* hath taken her
 ' leave of Popish Crafts for ever; never to be de-
 ' cluded with them hereafter. *Roman* Bishops have
 ' nothing to do with *English* People: the one doth
 ' not traffique with the other: at the least, tho they
 ' will have to do with us, yet we will have none of
 ' their Merchandize, none of their Stuff; we will
 ' receive them of our Council no more: We have
 ' sought our Hurt and bought our Loss a great while
 ' too long Surely their Decrees either touching
 ' things set up. or put down, shall have none other
 ' place with us than all Bishops Decrees have: that
 ' is, if we like them we admit them; if we do not,
 ' we refuse them. But lest peradventure, Men should
 ' think us to follow our Senses too much, and that
 ' we, moved by small, or no just Causes, forsake
 ' the Authority, Censures, Decrees, and Popish
 ' Councils; we thought it best here to shew our mind
 ' to the whole World. Wherefore we protest, be-
 ' fore God and all Men, that we imbrace, profess
 ' and will ever so do the right and holy Doctrine of
 ' Christ: All the Articles of his Faith, no Jot o-
 ' mitted, be all so dear unto us, that we should much
 ' sooner stand in Jeopardy of our Realm, than to see
 ' any point of Christ's Religion in Jeopardy with
 ' us. We protest that we never went from the Uni-
 ' ty of his Faith; neither, that we will depart an
 ' Inch from it. No, we will much sooner lose our
 ' Lives, than any Article of our Belief shall decay in
 ' *England*. We which in all this Cause seek nothing
 ' but the Glory of God, the Profit and Quietness of
 ' the World, protest that we can suffer Deceivers no
 ' longer. — We will all Christian Men to be admo-
 ' nish'd, that we can suffer no longer, that they be
 ' esteemed willing to take away Errors, which in-
 ' deed

' deed by all the ways their Wits will serve them go
 ' about this alone, that no Man, under pain of Death,
 ' may speak against any Error or Abuse. We would
 ' have a Council ; we desire it ; yea, and crave no-
 ' thing so oft of God, as that we may have one. But
 ' yet we will that it be such as Christian Men ought
 ' to have ; that is, frank and free ; where every
 ' Man without fear, may say his Mind. We desire,
 ' that it be an holy Council ; where every Man may
 ' go about to set up Godliness, and not apply all their
 ' Study to oppressing of Truth. — O Fools ! O
 ' wicked Men ! may we not justly call you ? — Are
 ' you not wicked, which so hate Truth, That ex-
 ' cept she be utterly banish'd, ye will never cease to
 ' vex her ? — Again, if they lean to Custom, we
 ' send them to St. Cyprian, which saith, that Custom,
 ' if Truth be not join'd with it, is nothing but *Erro-
 ' ris Vetustas*, that is, an *old Error*. Christ said,
 ' *Ego sum via, veritas, & vita: I am the Way, the
 ' Truth and Life* : He never said, *Ego sum Consuetu-
 ' do, I am the Custom*. Wherefore seeing Custom
 ' serveth you on the one side, and Scripture us on
 ' the other, are ye able to match us ? — We only
 ' desire God, that *Cesar*, and other Christian Prin-
 ' ces, would agree upon some holy Council, where
 ' Truth may be try'd, and Religion set up ; which
 ' hath been hurt by nothing so sore as by general,
 ' not general, Councils. — Ye have, Christian Rea-
 ' ders, our mind concerning the general Council.
 ' We think you all see, that *Paul* and his Cardinals,
 ' Bishops, Abbats, Monks, Friars, with the rest of
 ' the Rabblement, do nothing less intend than the
 ' knowledge and search of Truth, &c.

I am Sir,

November 3. 1713.

Your very humble Servant.

FINIS,

ARTICLES

Objected to

Mr. Whiston,

BY

Dr. PELLING;

Before the

Court of DELEGATES,

IN A

Cause of Heresy.

*In Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Jonathan
permissione divina Winton' Episcopus, Geor-
gius permissione eadem divina Bathon' & Wel-
len' Episcopus, Gulielmus eadem permissione
Cestren' Episcopus, Philippus eadem permissione
Hereford' Episcopus, Adam eadem permissione
Meneven' Episcopus, Thomas Dominus Trevor
Capitalis Justitiarius de Banco Domina Re-
gina,*

B

gina, Robertus Tracy Armiger unus Justitiariorum de Banco predict' Robertus Price, Armiger unus Baronum Scaccarii dicta Domina Regina: nec non, Robertus Wood, Carolus Pinfold, Thomas Pask, Gulielmus Phipps, & Gulielmus Strahan, Legum respectuve Doctores, Judices Delegati Regii in Causa infrascripta ac inter partes inferius nominatus Vigore Commissionis sub magno Sigillo Magnae Britaniae legitime constituti, Tibi Gulielmo Whiston, Clerico Articulos, Capitula, sive Interrogatoria infrascripta, meram animae tuae Salutem morumque & Excessuum tuorum Reformationem & Correctionem, & praesertim Crimen Heresis concernen & tangen ex Officio nostro ad promotionem Reverendi Viri Johannis Pelling, S. T. P. damus, objicimus, & Articulamur, quibus omnibus & singulis volumus & Mandamus a Te verum, plenum, planum & fidele Responsum dari & Objicimus & Articulamur prout Sequitur, Viz.

IMPRIMIS. *Objicimus & Articulamur, That if any Person shall publish or declare, in Speech or Writing, any Opinion, Doctrine, or Assertions, repugnant or contrary to the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England, and Doctrines contained therein, Intituled, Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the Year 1562. For the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and for the Establishing of Consent touching True Religion, such Person is and ought to be punished Canonically, according to the Nature*

ture and Circumstances of such Offence, & *Obijemus & Articulamur conjunctim divisim & de quolibet.*

II. *Item.* That notwithstanding the Premises, you the said *William Whiston* have lately Wrote and Printed, or caused two certain Books hereunto annex'd to be Printed and Publish'd, one Entituled, *An Historical Preface to Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, with an Appendix, containing an Account of the Author's Prosecution at, and Banishment from the University of *Cambridge*, By *William Whiston*, M. A. *London*, Printed for the Author, and are to be Sold by the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*, M.DCC.XI. with this Dedication, viz. *To the most Reverend Thomas, Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, President; and to the Right Reverend the Bishops of the same Province, his Graces Suffragans; and to the Reverend the Clergy of the Lower House in Convocation Assembled: This Historical Preface is humbly Dedicated, and the Papers therein refer'd to, with all due Submission offered to their and the publick serious Consideration, by the Author.* The other Book is Intituled, *A Reply to Dr. Allix's Remarks on some places of Mr. Whiston's Books, either Printed or Manuscript, with an Appendix, containing,* 1. *The Preface to the Doctrine of the Apostles.* 2. *Propositions, containing the Primitive Faith of Christians about the Trinity and Incarnation.* 3. *A Letter to the most Reverend Thomas, Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, President of the Convocation, By William Whiston, M. A. London, Printed for the Author, and Sold by A. Baldwin, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1711.* Wherein you have declared, That the *Arian* Doctrine concerning the Trinity and Incarnation, is the Doctrine of our Blessed Saviour, his Apostles, and the first Christians, and do very Scandalously insinuate, That all who have Considered these Matters, want nothing but the Honesty and the Cou-

rage to own themselves of the same Opinion: And in and thro' the said Two Exhibited Books, and in one, some, or more of the Pages of them, you have Uttered, Asserted, Declared, and Published these Assertions following, *viz.*

1. And now it was, and indeed not till now, that I had all my Evidence at once before me, and that I was able to affirm, and assuredly pronounce, That the *Arian* Doctrine was in these Points, *viz.* The Trinity and Incarnation, most certainly the Original Doctrine of Christ himself, of his Holy Apostles, and of the most Primitive Christians, as in the said Historical Preface, Page 6 and 7, *Referendo*, &c.

2. When the Scriptures speak of One God, they mean thereby One Supreme God the Father only, as in the said Historical Preface, Page 81: *Referendo*, &c.

The Moderns call'd these Three Divine Persons, but one God, and so introduced at least a New and Unscriptural and Inaccurate, if not false way of speaking into the Church—Errata, Page 123, Line 23, 24. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, read, In the Holy Ghost, and *dele* Three Persons and One God, &c. in the said Historical Preface, Page 82, *Referendo*, &c.

These I allow to be my own Words, and to be agreeable to my own not uncertain Opinion, but certain Faith. I was once, as the World will see by the occasion of the latter *Erratum*, in the common Opinion, That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Three Divine Powers, [Persons] were truly in some Sense One God, or the One God of the Christian Religion; that is, before I particularly Examined that Matter in the Scriptures, and the most Primitive Writers: but since I have thoroughly Inquired into it, I am so fully satisfied that the Father alone is the One God of the Christian Religion, that

I must now own, that when once I deny or doubt of that Doctrine, I must deny or doubt of our common Christianity: there being no one Article more plain, or more universally acknowledg'd in all the first Ages of the Church than that was: As in the said Historical Preface, page 81. *Referendo*, &c.

3. That the Son is Inferior as well as Subordinate to the Father; as in the said Historical Preface, Pos. 3. page 65. *Referendo*, &c.

4. That the Son was Begotten or Created by the Father, only before the World, whatever secret Eternity he had before his Generation or Creation: As in the said Historical Preface, Pos. 7. page 65. *Referendo*, &c.

5. Jesus Christ, the Word and Son of God, is a Divine Being, a [or] Person far Inferiour to his Father in Nature, Attributes and Perfections: As in the Reply to Dr. *Alix*, Proposition 8. page 30. *Referendo*, &c.

6. That the Holy Ghost is Inferiour as well as Subordinate to both the Father and the Son: As in the said Historical Preface, Pos. 5. page 65.

7. The Holy Spirit of God is a Divine Person made under the Supream God by our Saviour, or, in a due Sence, proceeding from the Father and the Son, of different Perfections and Offices from the Son of God. As in the Reply to Dr. *Alix*, Proposition 19. page 33. *Referendo*, &c.

8. Since your Lordship is so thoroughly sensible of the Anti-Christianism of Popery, I would fain know how the Consubstantiality and Coequality of the Holy Ghost to the Father and the Son, on which soon followed his Invocation; which only stands upon one Letter of Pope *Liberius* or *Damasus*, can by your Lordship be looked upon under any other Denomination: As in the said Historical Preface, page 28. *Referendo*, &c.

9. This Language (To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, One God, whom we Adore) is so intirely contrary to the Nature of the Christian Religion, that I cannot go into it for any Consideration whatsoever: As in the Appendix to the Historical Preface, Page 5, 6. *Referendo*, &c.

10. I allow that the Blessed Spirit is to be Worshipped in these Forms, *viz.* Baptism, Doxology, and Blessing, but never by Invocation: As in the said Historical Preface, page 46 *Referendo*, &c.

11. I cannot but look on this Discovery, *viz.* That the *Λόγος* in Christ supply'd the Place of the *Πρόνοια*, or Rational Soul in Man, as one of the most Certain and most Important of all others: As in the said Historical Preface, page 6. *Referendo*, &c.

12. Jesus Christ, the Word and Son of God, when he was Incarnate, was liable to Temptations in his Divine Nature, and therein suffered for Us, as the Rational Soul is Tempted and suffers in other Men, by its partaking of the Temptations and Sufferings of the Body: As in the Reply to Dr. *Allix*, Proposition 16. page 32.

III. *Item*, We Article and Object to you, that the Passages above-mention'd contained in the said Books so Wrote, Printed, set forth and published by you the said *William Whiston*, do contain Assertions False and Heretical, highly derogating from the Glory of our Saviour, and the Holy Spirit, Repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, and Contrariant to the Decrees of the two first General Councils, and to the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England: & *Obijcimus & Articulamur ut Supra*.

IV: *Item*, We Article and Object to you, That you the said *William Whiston*, the better to support your Heretical Opinions, in your said Historical Preface, Page 85. speaking of a Book commonly call'd, *The Apostolical Constitutions*, have these

these Words, *viz.* " I have, I think, certainly
 " found, that those Apostolical Constitutions, which
 " the Anti-Christian Church has so long laid aside,
 " as Spurious or Heretical, are no other than the
 " Original Laws and Doctrines of the Gospel, the
 " New Covenant, or most Sacred Standard of Chri-
 " stianity; equal in their Authority to the Four
 " Gospels themselves; and Superior in Authority
 " to the Epistles of single Apostles: some Parts of
 " them being our Saviours own Original Laws de-
 " livered to the Apostles: and the other Parts the
 " Publick Acts of the Apostles themselves, met in
 " Councils at *Jerusalem* and *Cesarea*, before their
 " Deaths: and this was the constant Opinion and
 " Testimony of the earliest Ages of the Gospel."
 Which Assertion so advanced, concerning a Book
 which was never yet acknowledged as part of the
 Canon of Scripture by any General Council, nor re-
 ceived as such in any Christian Church, ought to
 be esteemed and reputed as Absurd and Impious,
 tending to create in the Minds of Christians great
 Uncertainties as to their Rule of Faith, and to
 Subvert that Faith which was once delivered to the
 Saints, and is preserv'd in the Sacred Books of the
New Testament received in the Church of England:
 & *Obijcimus & Articulamur ut Supra.*

V. Item: We Article and Object to you, That
 you the said *William Whiston* are a Priest in Holy
 Orders of the Church of *England*, and that at the
 time of your Ordination, you did according to
 the Canon of the Book of Canons and Constitutions
 Ecclesiastical, Treated upon and Agreed in Convo-
 cation, and published, *Anno Domini* 1603. Subscribe,
 That the Book of Common-Prayer, and of Ordering
 of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth in it
 nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that it
 may Lawfully so be used, and that you your self
 will

will use the Form in the said Book prescribed in Publick Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and none other ; and did allow the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at *London*, in the Year 1562. and that you acknowledged all and every the Articles therein contained, being in Number 39. to be agreeable to the Word of God, in the following Order and Form of Words, viz. " I *William Whiston* do willingly, and *Ex Animo*, " Subscribe to these Three Articles above-mentioned (the first Article being about the King's " Supremacy) and to all Things that are contained in them; & *Objicimus & Articulamur ut Supra.*

VI. *Item.* We Article and Object to you, That *William Whiston*, M. A. mentioned and described in the Title Page of the said Historical Preface, and in and thro' the said Exhibited Book, and in the Appendix thereof, and in the Proposals for Printing by Subscription Mr. *Whiston's* Collection, Entituled, *Primitive Christianity Revived*, in Four Volumes *Octavo*, at the End of the said Book ; and *William Whiston*, M. A. mentioned and described in the Title Page of the said Reply to Dr. *Alix's* Remarks, and in and thro' the said Book, and you the said *William Whiston* party in this Cause, is one and the same Person, and not divers.

VII. *Item.* We Article and Object to you the said *William Whiston*, for such your Asserting, Writing, and Publishing the Premises, are, and ought to be Punished for the same, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm, and Canons and Constitutions of the Church of *England*, Et *Objicimus & Articulamur ut Supra.*

VIII. *Item.*

VIII. *Item*, We Article and Object to you, that you the said *William Whiston* are an Inhabitant of that Part of *Great-Britain* called *England*, and by Reason thereof subject to the Jurisdiction of this Court; *Et Objicimus ut Supra.*

9. *Item. Quod præmissa omnia & singula fuerunt & sunt publica, notoria, manifesta, pariter & famosa; ac de & super eisdem laborarunt & in presenti laborant publica vox & fama: Unde facta fide de jure in hac parte requisita petit pars ista Articulus Jus & Justitiam fieri in hac parte, Præfatumque, Willielmum Whiston, ad recantand' retractand' & renuntiand' Omnes & singulas Positiones, Assertiones & Opiniones Hereticas supra mentionatas moneri cogi & compelli, dictumq; Willielmum Whiston ulterius corrigendum & puniendum juxta juris in ea parte Exigentiam.*

Mr.

(5)

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE
LIFE OF THE LATE KING OF SWEDEN
AND OF HIS REIGN

BY
JONAS BERNHARDT
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF UPPSALA
AND OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
IN SWEDEN
AND OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
IN SWEDEN
AND OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
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IN SWEDEN

AND OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
IN SWEDEN

Mr. *Whiston's*
DEFENCE

of Himself, from

Dr. *PELLING's*
Accusation of Heresy.

BEFORE I come to the particular Vindication of my self from that Accusation of Heresy, which Dr. *Pelling* has laid before this High-Court against me, and which has been admitted as Chargeable upon me ; I beg leave to Premise several Things by way of Preparation, in order to the clearer Understanding of the whole Matter, and to the more full Discovery of my real Notions, and to the making my Apology more clear and compleat ; which I shall comprise under the Heads or Observations following,

I. I take it for granted that *Heresy*, is somewhat different from Mistake or *Error*, and that it is of a more Heinous Nature, requires a different Treatment, and a sorer Punishment ; and that it is materially a Denial or Corruption of some of the Primary

ry

ry and Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion; and that it is formally a Criminal and Wicked Denial or Corruption of the same, *i.e.* that it must be in Points of Principal Concern to Christianity, such as affect its very Foundations, which I think is allow'd by all; and that it must not be an Involuntary or Innocent Mistake, or Error of the Judgment only, but still joined with some Criminal or Wicked Disposition of the Will also. This last is evident by all those places of the known Books of the *New Testament*, wherein the Term *Heresy* or *Heretick* in any such Sense are us'd, which are indeed but Four. The First is 1 Cor. xi. 19. *Δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἱρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι, ἵνα οἱ δοκίμοι φανερωθῇ γένηνται ἐν ὑμῖν.* *There must be Heresies among you, that they that are approved may be made manifest among you.* Here 'tis evident that there is a Crime of the Will, a Wickedness of Disposition in even the least degrees of Schism and Heresy (for of such smaller Divisions and Parties among Christians, the Word seems here to be used only;) otherwise the avoiding of the same would not be a Trial of Men's Goodness and Sincerity. The Second is Gal. v. 19, 20, 21. where among the manifest Works of the Flesh, such as *Adultery, Fornication, Uncleanness, Lasciviousness, and the like*, are enumerated *διχοστασίαι, αἱρέσεις, Separations, Heresies.* And accordingly it is added, that *they that do such Things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God*: So that still Heresy implies Wickedness in its Notion, and leads Men into Wickedness, and cannot consist in a bare Error of the Understanding. The Third place is Tit. iii. 10. *Ἀποστρέφειν ἀνθρώπον, μετὰ μίαν καὶ σωτήριον νόμον, παρὰ τὴν εἰδὴς ὅτι ἐξέστηται ὁ τοῦτος, καὶ ἀμαρτάνει, ὡν ἀποκατάκτεται.* *A Man that is an Heretick, after the first and second Admonition reject: Knowing that such an one is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of himself.* Which mention of Sin, and of Self Condemnation thereupon, is a sure Sign not of the

the bare Mistake of the Judgment, but of the Wickedness of the Will, and of acting against the Light of Conscience also. The Fourth is 2 Pet. ii.

1. Where mention is made of False Teachers,

οἱ τινες παρεσάξουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας, καὶ τὴν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς
δοσπολὴν ἀρνέμενοι, ἐπάροντες ἑαυτοῖς ταχινὴν ἀπώλειαν; Κ.

T. A. Who privily shall bring in destructive Heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, bringing upon themselves swift Destruction; and many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of Truth shall be evil spoken of; and through Covetousness with feigned words, shall they make merchandise of you. By

which Characters, and by what follows in St. Peter, as well as by the express Parallel Words of St. Jude,

(παρεσείδουσιν γὰρ τινες ἄνθρωποι, οἱ πάλαι προγεγενημένοι
εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κέσμα, ἀσεβεῖς, τὴν τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν χάριν μετατι-

θόντες εἰς ἀσέλγεια. For there are crept in a-

mong you certain Persons of old foretold, as Ver. 4.

subject to this judgment, wicked Men, turning

the Grace of our God into Lasciviousness.) It is evident

that these Pernicious Heresies were joyned with

Wickedness, Covetousness, and Impurity; and so

were Crimes of the Will, and not only Errors of

the Understanding. Nor is this only the Account

of the known Sacred Books of our Religion, but of the

other Original and most Ancient Monuments

also. For thus do the Apostolical Constitutions describe them, by calling them *Impious* Lib. vi.

Heresies; by exhorting Christians to *Avoid* them, as

opposite to the Will of God, lest they should be

partakers of the Impiety of the Hereticks; as Ch. 5.

fighters against God, and Persons of an evil

disposition, from whose Wickedness Pollution went forth

over all the Earth; by describing them as

excited by the Devil, out of his Malice against Ch. 6.

the Holy Church of God; out of his Skill in

Mischief, and Ignorance of what is good; by giving

Ch. 7 and 8. a Catalogue and Description of them, such as *Simon the Magician*, as indeed the Head of all the old Hereticks, *Cleobius, Cerinthus, Marcus, Menander, Basilides, Saturnilus*, and particularly *those impudent Patrons of Lust and Uncleaness the Nicolaitans*; by reckoning up many of their Wicked Assertions, as in common tending to Atheistical and Blasphemous notions, against Almighty God, his Laws, and Providence; the Belief of a Resurrection, a future Judgment, a Retribution hereafter, and the Souls Immortality; as tending to the indulgence of Pleasure, and to direct Apostacy; as teaching some of them the lawfulness of open Fornication and such like fleshly Lusts; nay of running through an intire course of ungodly Practices. Nor is this account from the Apostolical Constitutions any other than what all Skilled in the ancient Writers know to be generally true, evident, and unquestionable. So that without any farther enlargement upon these matters I shall conclude that *Heresy*, formally Considered, is not an involuntary Mistake, or Error of the Judgment only, but still joyn'd with some criminal or wicked Disposition of the Will also.

II. I Observe that what was direct and formal Heresy, in the first Ages, may not always be so now; and that by Consequence some of the same false Doctrines which would at first have been justly Esteem'd plainly Heretical, and deserve Excommunication, may now rather be Pardonable Mistakes, requiring calm Debates; and instead of further Punishment, a *Restoration in the Spirit of Meekness*. The Reason of this Observation is evident; viz. That in the first Ages all true Christians, the Sincere followers of Christ, were fully Instructed by the Apostles themselves, or their known Companions, being Apostolical Men; or at least by their
near

near Successors, the Primitive Bishops and Presbyters ; they could then most easily distinguish between Apostolical Churches, and Heretical Assemblies ; between the Disciples of *Peter, Paul, James, Clement, Polycarp*, and the like, on one Side ; and the followers of *Simon the Magician, Cerinthus, Valentinus, Marcion*, the Gnosticks, and the like, on the other ; between the Holy, Divine, Pure and Heavenly Doctrines, with the Spiritual Offices, and strict Discipline of the Christian Churches, on one side ; and the Wicked, Diabolical, Impure, and Sensual Positions, the profane Ceremonies, and careless Behaviour of the Heretical Societies, on the other : Between following the Conduct of Inspired Persons on the one hand, and resigning themselves up to the Direction of gross Enthusiasts, or errand Deceivers on the other. So that little then but an honest Mind, a Desire of Truth, and Love of Goodness, was necessary to preserve Men in the Catholick Faith, Worship and Discipline; I mean this as to all the concerning and Fundamental Principles of Christianity. But, alas ! that is not always the case in these later and corrupter Ages of the Church ! Primitive Faith Piety, Worship, and Discipline are not now so visible ; nor have we any Spiritual Guides really Inspired or Apostolical among us. All things are run into Disorder, into Party and Faction, Schisms and Heresies. Almost every Body of Men that can get Temporal Authority, or even Toleration on their Side, do now, without all Commission from Christ or his Apostles, pretend to Establish their own Notions and Rules, their own Systems and Schemes, their own Creeds and Catechisms, their own Articles of Faith and Ecclesiastical decrees for Practice ; and these not Seldom, which is most deplorable, as the real Faith of Christ, and Laws of the Gospel ; and so directly reach for doctrines the commandments of men. Matt. XV. 9 If any one happens
to

to be born in *Italy, Spain, or Portugal*, he must either own the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*, with her Bishop; either believe and live as the Council of *Trent* has decreed, or he can hardly claim the name of a Christian. That of Heretick to be sure is thought one of the proper terms of reproch for him. If you are educated in some Parts of *Germany*, you must follow *Luther*, or you are not in a much better condition. If in others, you must allow of *Calvin* as your Guide, or else very hard thoughts will be entertained of you. If you are a native of *Scotland*, you will frequently be almost oblig'd to Submit not only to the *Calvinist* Scheme of Doctrine, but to the Presbyterian Form of Church Government also; or else your Reputation will be in great Danger with many. And if Providence has cast any ones Lot into this our native Country, where almost all other conveniences for ease and liberty are to be found, and where our famous Church of *England* has a legal Establishment, yet will he find matters not very much better as to our Old pure and primitive Religion. Nor can I perceive the utmost care in Examination, the greatest Sincerity in Profession, the fairest Addresses to the Learned for Assistance, the most ready Compliance in all things where Conscience does not forbid, the heartiest Zeal for all that is Good and Valuable, and the most Constant readiness to hear original Evidence and submit to it, to recal and retract all mistakes and errors, to give or receive Satisfaction, is even here any security for a Christian; unless he will comply with the 39 Articles of Religion therein Establish'd at the Infancy of the Reformation, as the Rule of his Faith; or rather the Rule of his open Profession, whatever his real Faith be; as well as with the other legal Settlements as to Worship, Government, and Practice among us. But he who after the most Impartial Enquires, and the fullest

Satis-

Satisfaction thereupon shall endeavour to correct the plainest Errors and Deviations of the Church from the most primitive Settlements; without the least design of Introducing so much as one Novel, or Heretical, or even uncertain Doctrine, Expression, or Practice into the Publick Forms of Religion, shall yet be Stigmatiz'd with the reproachful name of an Heretick, and shall perhaps be Vehemently Prosecuted in a Legal Court, with the direct Accusation of Heresy: and this in matters of the greatest consequence, and before any Solemn Examination of them, or so much as the appointment of one Committee of Learned Men to consider about them. And can we now Suppose that in these latter, distracted Ages, where every party educate their Children in their own notions, and have their Champions ready to colour over their own Errors, and to persuade the people that they are Christian Truths; nay and where every Party, whenever the State encourages them, have also Rewards and Preferments, Applause and Reputation, for those that do so; as also have Laws and Courts, Tribunals and Penalties to Affright others from any Opposition. Can we, I say, suppose that the very same Errors, are always equally Criminal in this as in the former Case? Can it be as Impious a thing to deny what may be only the Doctrine of some modern Councils or Synods, as those of Christ himself? or as pernicious to Mens Souls to call in question a meerly Human, as to dispute Apostolical and Inspired Authority? This certainly cannot be Justified upon any Foundation of Religion or Christianity. And as it has justly been a Question, wheither the Sin against the Holy Ghost, which was at first irremissible, as being in Opposition to plainly sacred and divine Authority, confirmed by undoubted Miracles, be so now; or indeed whether so long after the Days of Christ and his Apostles, and so long after the ceasing of those

Miraculous powers, it can be committed by any ; So do I think it deserves to be justly questioned, whether those which are now usually Suppos'd to be Hereticks, that is those which teach what the modern settled Churches call Heresy, even tho' we really suppose them materially guilty, are to be treated as the undoubted Hereticks of the first ages deservedly were. And the Reasons are plain, that against such Heresies the evidence is not now always the same; and that the most upright, honest, and unbiass'd minds may not now be always able to discover and avoid them. This observation I am very confident deserves much more regard in this and in many other cases, than the present Establish'd Churches are willing to allow it: nor should I easily think it proper to make it here before you, were I not resolv'd to speak my real Sentiments as clearly and openly here, as I have Endeavour'd to do it elsewhere. And I heartily wish that this my open plainness and Sincerity may not be Offensive in this Court on Earth, as I am well assur'd it will not be in the Court of Heaven. Or if it be Offensive here I shall comfort my self, I hope, more with the Assurance I have of the Approbation of the one, than be Afflicted with the Fears I maybe under from the Censures of the other. But to proceed.

III. I Observe, in Order to my own direct Vindication from the present Accusation of Heresy even materially consider'd, That I have taken the best methods that I knew of for avoiding the least tincture of any Errors of Heresy whatsoever ; I mean I have endeavour'd to take all my notions in these important matters, not from any later Opinions ; not from Metaphysicks or Philosophy ; not from human Decrees and Constitutions; but from all the Original Sacred and Primitive Records of Christ, of his Apostles, and of their first Followers; and have

have conform'd my own Notions and Practice as intirely as possible thereto. I have followed neither the Heresy of the Old *Ebionites*, nor modern *Soci-nians* : Neither the rash Notions and Language of *Tertullian* , nor of any of the *Montanists* his Partisans, neither the Novel Doctrines and Expressions of *Arius*, or of *Athanasius* ; or of either of their particular Disciples ; All which I knew might mislead and deceive me ; But I had alone regard to the most ancient Rule of Faith, or Baptismal Profession, as it's Substance at least, if not it's very Words, are all along Deliver'd down to us by so many of the Ancient Christians ; to the known Sacred and Canonical Books of the New Testament, still preserv'd among us ; to all the other Original Writings now Extant of the Apostles or Apostolical Men, own'd for such by the ancient Christians ; and to the undoubted Catholick Records of the three first, and former part of the fourth Centuries of the Church. From hence, and alone from hence, without any prejudice for *Appollinaris*, *Eunomius*, *Maccedonius*, or other the like later Writers, did I draw those Doctrines and Rules by which I have Endeavour'd ever since to guide my Faith and Practice, and which I have set down in my several Writings. Of these I Judged as impartially and uprightly as I was able : From these I collected the Principal Texts and Testimonies whereon I Resolv'd to depend : for these I laid aside almost all the modern Writers of Controversy, as finding them generally unfair, partial, and injudicious ; and at the upshot, after the best Consideration of things I was Capable of, from these I did determine my notions about the Trinity and Incarnation ; and when I thus had drawn the Ancient Doctrines out of the ancient Books themselves, I put them into distinct Propositions, and laid them fairly and openly before the Governours of the Church, and some of it's most

Learned Members, in MS. at first, and afterward; by Publishing the same, before them and the whole Christian World, as the evident result of my Examination. By this means I fairly and Peaceably propos'd these matters to the Examination of the Church; and if it should receive the same satisfaction that I had met with, to its amendment and correction. This was certainly no more than what every one has leave to do, as to the very Common or Statute Laws of the Land; where upon any Complaints we are allow'd to Represent the Inconveniences arising from any settled Custom, or Act of Parliament, and to draw up and tender a Bill for it's Abrogation; and this without the least Suspicion of any ill designs to the publick, or disregard to the Laws themselves. yet may every one that Petitions the Parliament, for the alteration of a Civil Law as well be deem'd guilty of Sedition against the State, as I can be of Disobedience against the Church, for desiring the Correction of some of its Constitutions. Now I beg that Dr. Pelling, or this High Court, will please to Inform me what better method I could possibly take to avoid all real Error and Heresy whatsoever? or what more peaceable method I could take for redress of modern Errors and Heresies? Could I be secur'd from Error or Heresy by Resigning up my self to the Determination of later Synods and Councils? No certainly. That had been it self a great Error, if not Heresy also, in the Opinion of the Church of *England* it self; whose Doctrine of the fallibility of all Synods and Councils, even the most General, is known to all Men; and whose very Reformation suppos'd not only their abstract fallibility, but that they had not Seldom been grievously and Fatally guilty of gross Errors if not of Notorious Heresies themselves. Could I safely rely upon the Old Canon Law, the Decretals of *Popes*, or the Constitutions of this Church in the Days of Popery; which I find some
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of Dr. *Pelling's* Council pretend to be still a Rule to Judge of Heresy by, even after our Protestant Reformation it self? For certain I could not. That had been a worse Error, if not Heresy also, in the Opinion of this Church, whose Doctrine of the still greater Fallibility of *Popes*, and the latter Popish Canons and Constitutions, with her Rejection of a great Part of them at the Reformation, and an Act of Parliament to have had the rest review'd, and many more of them directly abrogated, are very well known; which noble Attempt however, to the great grief of all good Protestants, has never yet been brought to Perfection. Could I then with safety have Recourse to our Book of Canons, to our 39 Articles, to our *Homilies*, to our Common Prayer Book, with it's Creeds and Offices, to secure my self from Heresy? Surely I could not. This would also have been intirely contrary to the whole current of our Churches own Doctrine, which allows her self to be as well as others a fallible Church, subject to great Errors and Mistakes, nay never pretends that she is her self Privileg'd from Heresy it self: and has accordingly more than once altered her Notions and sacred Offices; and whose most Considerable Members do at this Day look on the Original or most Obvious sense of several of her former Doctrines, tho still subscribed by Publick authority, to be very uncertain, if not directly false, as shall be fully proved hereafter. Nor can Doctor *Pelling* Justly Pretend that I ought not to Judge for my self in these Matters, but must suppose that what the Church has determin'd herein is agreable to the Scriptures and the other Records of our Religion: For this were Intirely to subvert the Foundations of the Reformation also; which depends wholly on the exercise of every ones own Judgment in the Fundamental points of Religion, and the Duty of adhering to what, upon our own Examination appears

to us to be therein true, and agreeable to the Christian Revelation. And I desire to be informed how Doctor *Pelling* comes to know, that my Assertions are disagreeable to Scripture, to the two first General Councils, or even to the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of *England*, as he lays his Charge against me? Is it not by reading them all, and Comparing them all together, and then Declaring from his own private Judgment, that upon that Comparison he finds they are disagreeable to those Rules? and does he not upon that Foundation or upon none at all, attempt to have me Punished for the same as False and Heretical? If Doctor *Pelling* may at random accuse me of Heresy, meerly from his own private Judgment, I hope I may be allow'd, after a full and compleat enquiry into these matters, after the most frequent and serious perusal of all the Ancient Creeds, all the known Books of the New Testament, all the other Original remains of the Apostles and their Companions, all the most Primitive Catholick Writers, nay of all the earliest Councils of the Church, to Declare, my own more certain knowledge to the Contrary. Nor ought this Court to be offended with me if I here freely declare my farther Opinion, that not a few of those that of late years have pretended to write about these Important Points, if their notions be compar'd with all the Original Standards of Christianity, are plainly and evidently, in this material sence, Hereticks also; and that sometimes so grossly, that they might with much greater pretence of truth and evidence have been prosecuted in a legal Court as *Sabellians* *Tritheists* *Ebionites*, or *Montanists*, than I can be as an *Arian*; as I shall more fully Observe hereafter. Only I must say 'tis above measure hard that while those plain and notorious Heresies, which have antiquity so evident against them, do generally escape with impunity, if not with reward; these doctrines,

which

which all the truly Learned, even the most prejudic'd, do allow to have so very much greater pretences for themselves in the same antiquity, should alone be singled out, and in a method so uncommon, with a violence so unusual should be prosecuted before this Court. I shall not venture to assign any Reasons for this vast difference; but I believe there are not many of those that hear me, and consider things impartially, but will easily guess at some of them without my farther intimation.

IV. I Observe that however, the Only way to avoid Heresy, as to its formal nature, is to bear an honest mind, a pure intention, and a sincere disposition for the receiving of truth; to be always ready to hear and inquire after truth; to amend and retract errors and mistakes; to search the Scriptures and Antiquity with impartiality, and without prepossession; to Examine diligently, to speak openly, to be plain and down right with the World; to endeavour to do the will of God in order to know his Truths; to be dispos'd for Suffering and Persecution on account of the same; to beg the divine guidance and assistance in all such researches; and to Act up to the sincere convictions of Conscience all along, without regard to any other motives, but those that afford real evidence and Satisfaction. This Observation is the common voice of reason and Revelation, the known dictate of Heaven, and the only security against formal Errors or Heresies: I mean such as are truly criminal, and really deserve Animadversion and Punishment, either in this or in another world. So that unless Doctor *Pelling* be fully satisfyed that I am formally and culpably in this sence an Heretick, he has no just pretence to Prosecute me in this or any Court. The known dictate of Nature and Scripture is this, that were there appears to be no

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crime

crime, there ought to be no Punishment. All Men may err, but no Man is forced to be an Heretick. While we are all fallible Creatures we have none of us any sure Privilege from Error, or even from material Heresy. But while we are Sincere, Honest, and Upright we are not lyable to dangerous Errors, or Pernicious Heresies. According I have observ'd already that Heresy in Scripture and the Earliest Antiquity is still suppos'd to be join'd with Sin and Wickedness; and that the Mistakes of really good Men were never Represented under that Odious Character. Accordingly it is not a little Remarkable, that some of the *Jewish* Christians, who appear to have been rather material than formal Hereticks, as not charg'd with any open Vice or Wickedness, or any evil designs like the other, seem to have been distinguish'd from the rest by the Ancients, and as *Justin Martyr's* Account seems to imply, were own'd rather as Erring Brethren, even while their Error was most Zealously and industriously avoided; when at the same time the other formal Hereticks were hardly allow'd by them to be Christians at all. Now I desire Doctor *Pelling* to declare what Reason he has to think any of my Errors, Supposing such they be, to be Voluntary and Criminal, and so to be formally Heretical? I must assure this Court, that Doctor *Pelling* is one with whom I never have had any acquaintance in my Life; that I never once saw him, so far as I Remember, till he appear'd in this very place as my Prosecutor, the last 5th. of *December*, which was above a whole Year after he had been first endeavouring elsewhere to prosecute me for Heresy. That he has never yet given me either a Private or Publick Admonition about my Supposed Mistakes in these Matters. Nay indeed, I declare that I never heard that he ever particularly Studied these Points, or made any distinct Enquiries whether they were Heresy or Christianity, true or false, before or since this Prosecution. So that upon
what

what just Grounds he can go in this Matter, I am wholly a stranger. However, since I dare Appeal to every one that sits as a Judge in this Court, and even to my Prosecutor, Doctor *Pelling* himself; Especially to all those that are acquainted with me, my Studies, Conduct and Behaviour in this and all other Religious Matters, and above all, to the All-seeing God himself, the Searcher of Hearts, whether I have ever given sufficient Indications of those criminal intentions, or sinister designs; of those corrupt Affections, or unchristian Behaviour which should induce any one to begin and carry on such a Legal Prosecution against me. Had I indeed been guilty of Prevarication in these sacred Matters; Had I believed one way, and subscribed, and preached, and acted another; had I been unfaithful to God and to my own Conscience; and had I endeavor'd, while I was satisfyed the *Athanasian* Doctrines were Heretical, to gain or retain any Preferments in the Church by dissembling that Opinion, and playing the Hypocrite before God and Men, there had been some pretence for an Ecclesiastical Admonition; and upon my going on, for the Exercise of farther Instances of Christian Discipline upon me: which yet I perceive I had in that Case for certain escaped. But now I have dealt sincerely, honestly, and openly in these matters; have ventur'd to examine thoroughly, to determine by my evidence clearly, to speak plainly, and reprove what I take to be common Errors, Heresies, and Corruptions publickly, before all, as becomes a Christian and a Clergy-man to do; I am for thus doing what I believe to be my duty, and discharging my Conscience Prosecuted at Law, in order to my Degradation, and Excommunication, and, its civil Consequence, Imprisonment: That is, I am directly Prosecuted for my Conscience, and for my Christianity. I say directly for my Conscience, and for my Christianity: For since I am sure my self, and hope that all others

thers are satisfy'd, that I have done the best I could to understand the true Religion of our Blessed Saviour, as it was at first Settled by his holy Apostles; and have fully satisfied my self of the same; If after this I be Prosecuted on that Account, I must take leave to say it again, that it is directly for being a Christian, or for preferring what I am satisfied was the original Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, before the contrary Determinations of Men long afterwards: otherwise I desire to know how it is Possible for any Person whomsoever to be Prosecuted on that Account. For certainly whatever Doctrines are clearly in any ones own Judgment, after a fair and full Examination, Heresy, they must be so to him, till he is Convinced of the Contrary: and if such an one should then out of any Hopes or Fears in this World own such Doctrines, he would be so far formally an Heretick, or, what is rather worse, so far an Apostate from Christianity. And whatever Doctrines are Clearly, in such an ones Judgment, after a fair and full Examination, Doctrines of Christianity, they must be so to him, till he is Convinced of the Contrary: and if he should then, out of any the like Hopes, or Fears in this World, Disown such Doctrines, he would also be so far a Betrayer of the sacred Truths of the Gospel, and so far an Apostate from Christianity. So that in short Doctor *Pelling* by this Legal Prosecution for pretended Heresy, does his utmost to oblige me to be a real Heretick, or rather in part an Apostate from the Christian Religion it's self.

V. I cannot but Complain of the very different Treatment I meet with from Doctor *Pelling* in this Court, from what I have elsewhere met with from some of the greatest and most Learned Members of the Church: and after what a different manner Doctor *Pelling* deals with me, from that which others of it's most Eminent Governours thought fit to

to do. Here is nothing but Legal Accusations, Legal Proofs, Legal Pleadings, Legal Sentences, [Nothing of Christian Admonition, Friendly Re-proof, Rational Conviction, and Authentick Evidence.] I must not say this method is at last taken, because the Church cannot otherwise answer me : however this I may Say, and this I will Say, and the Printed Letters long since extant will bear me out in it, that I have not been thus treated by the Learned, such as Doctor *Allix*, Doctor *Grabe*, and Doctor *Bradford*. I was not thus treated by the right Reverend the Lord Bishops of *Worcester* and *Norwich*. Nay I was not thus treated by our most reverend Metropolitans themselves, the present Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the late Lord Arch-Bishop of *York*. And I cannot but think it very hard, that while these Important matters were debating among the Learned, and that not without the Permission, if not Encouragement, of both the Metropolitans themselves, that Christian Method of Enquiry and Examination should be since chang'd into this Method of Law and Prosecution. However, I beg leave to read at least my own first Letter to our most Reverend Metropolitans, and their Answers to me, which I have here in their Originals; because they have been long Publick, and because I look upon them as very material in order to the Justification of the manner of my own Proceedings, as well as to the Condemnation of the manner of Doctor *Pelling's* Proceedings against me.

Camb. July

Camb. July 17. 1708.

May it please your G R A C E,

Having been lately examining with all the Care, Application, and Impartially I could, the *Original Doctrines* of Christianity, concerning the ever blessed *Trinity*, and the *Incarnation* of our Lord and Saviour, both in the New Testament, and in the most Primitive Antiquity; and having in that Enquiry observ'd, as 'tis very easy to do, that the Opinions of the *two*, and almost *three first Centuries* were very different from those of the Fourth and following ones; I think it my Duty to propose the Consideration and Examination of these Matters to the *Christian World*; but more especially to the *Protestant Churches*; because they have never yet been examin'd in any publick Manner, either at or since the *Reformation*: and because the common Doctrines appear all along to have been settled and establish'd by the *See of Rome*, and thence to have been propagated to the rest of the Christian World. It seems to me plain, that the *Scripture*, the *Apostolical Fathers*, and, in the main, the *second Century* do agree in the explication of these sacred Doctrines. Nay even the Body of the Christian Church appears to have been of the same Opinions so low as the *Council of Antioch* it self, in the latter part of the *third Century*, abating only one or two particular Persons, (contradicting themselves) and such Parts of the Church as were under the influence of the *Bishops of Rome*; who, ever since the Days of Pope *Victor*, have taken upon them to be the Arbitrators of these and other Controversies among Christians. I hope your Grace will believe that I am *honest* and *sincere* in my *Intentions*; and that if I were not fully convinc'd of the great Importance of what

what I have to propose, I would not trouble your Grace, or the World, in this Matter. I am sure I have no Difficulty upon me in believing *Mysteries*, whenever I find them reveal'd by God. Nor have I the least Design to detract from the great Dignity of, or from the Divine Worship due to the Son of God, and the Blessed Spirit; on whose *Redemption* and *Sanctification* all my own Hopes of Salvation are entirely grounded. But I cannot easily believe that the Doctrine of the *Fourth* and following *Centuries*, I mean that which at length prevail'd in them, can be purer than that of the two first; that *Vigilius Tapsensis*, *Athanasius*, or *Councils* themselves can make *Articles of Faith*, or that their *late* Authorities can excuse me, or any honest Christian from examining and embracing that *Original Faith*, which was once deliver'd to the *Saints*, and receiv'd in the first Ages of the Gospel. As to the most proper *Method* of proposing these Matters to the Publick, I shall have the greatest Deference for your Graces Judgment and Directions, and those of my Lord Archbishop of *York*; who, as the principal Guides of this Church, have a just Right to be consulted in Matters of this Nature and Moment. For my own part, I not only believe, but know, that, for the main, what I affirm to have been the antient Doctrine, is so; having examin'd all the certainly genuine and most ancient Books and Fragments hitherto publish'd. I have also a pretty compleat *Collection of the Testimonies* by me, and a short *Chronological Account* by what Steps the Primitive Faith was gradually either alter'd or improv'd till it came to the Model of the Creed of *Vigilius Tapsensis*, the *Standard of Modern Orthodoxy* in these Matters. So that I think my self in some measure prepar'd to give an Authentick Account of the Faith of the *two First Centuries*. Nor do I find any plain Testimonies to be alledg'd on the other Side. But then, because
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in some particulars I may easily have made Mistakes, or Omissions ; because, as a peaceable Member of this Church, I ought to consult its Unity and Quiet as much as possible ; and because, if it may be, I would have this Matter calmly and fairly debated and settled by the Learned, before it comes into the Hands of the Ignorant ; Upon all these Accounts, I humbly propose it to your Graces Consideration, what Way I should take in the particular Management of this Matter ? My own Thoughts are, that it might be convenient to have some Copies transcrib'd, or rather a few Printed, for the Use of the Learned. But, if any other Method shall be propos'd which may better attain the same Ends, I shall very readily comply with it. I am aware that several political or prudential Considerations may be alleg'd against either the doing this *at all*, or at least the doing it *now*. But then, If the sacred Truths of God must be always suppress'd, and dangerous Corruptions never inquired into, till the *Politicians* of this World should say it were a *proper Time* to examin and correct them, I doubt it would be long enough e're such Examination and Correction could be expected in any Case. I think my self plainly *oblig'd* in point of *Duty* to communicate my Collections to be publick Consideration ; and therefore from this *Resolution* in general no worldly Motives whatever, by the blessing of God, shall dissuade me. But, as to the particular Propositions themselves, when they are sent, your Grace will please to look upon them as a somewhat hastily Account, I do not say of *mine own* Opinions, for *they* are of small Consideration, but of the Opinions of the *two first Centuries of the Church of Christ*, ready for all well-grounded Alterations, Corrections, and Improvements, if my own farther Enquiries, or the Suggestions of the Learned, shall make any of them necessary hereafter. I most humbly

bly crave your Graces Pardon for the great freedom and boldness of this Address ; with the continuance of that candid and favorable Opinion of me, my Intentions, and Labours, which hitherto your Grace has been pleas'd to afford to,

[*I have sent the same Letter to the Archbishop of York.*]

Your obliged and most obedient Servant.

WILL. WHISTON.

Soon after the Receipt of this Letter, both the *Archbishops*, were so fair and kind as to return me their several Answers. Which I beg leave to read to this Court.

S I R

Lambeth, July 24. 1708.

I received your Letter ; but cannot Judge of your Work therein mention'd without perusing it ; And I had rather at first see it in Writing than in Print. Perhaps your second Thoughts may be different from your first, after you have drawn them out, and laid them before others, and they have given you their Opinions upon them. Amongst them it seems to me very proper to consult the Learned Bp. *Bull*, who hath shewed himself a great Master in this Argument. For my self, when I see your Scheme, I shall freely and without byas give you my poor Thoughts of it. May the God of Wisdom guide us all, in all our Researches, and make us wise to Sobriety. I am

S I R,

Your loving Brother,

CANTERBURY.

Dear

Dear Sir,

Bishops-Thorp Aug. 6. 1708.

I had the favour of your Letter above a Fortnight ago. I earnestly beg your Pardon for not sooner returning my Thanks to you for it ; which I certainly had done, had not something or other continually happen'd when I design'd it. I say returning my Thanks to you for the Civility you express to me in that Letter ; For as for giving an Answer to it, I profess I am not able. I must own I do by no means approve of the Design which you tell me in your Letter you are upon ; (as thinking that, if you do pursue it, you will do a great deal more hurt to the Christian Religion among us than you will do good ;) and being of this Opinion, to be sure I can give you no Advice as to the Method in which you should make the World acquainted with it ; which is that you desire in your Letter. If I was able to give you any Advice it should be this, that you would lay aside this Project, at least so long as till you have had opportunity of talking freely about this Matter with your Friends at *London* ; which you may have in the Parliament-time, if you will then be so kind as to make a Journey thither. A great many things may be offer'd in Discourse, for the Conviction of either of the differing Parties which cannot be so easily writ in Letters. I my self now think that I have as great Reason to believe that it will be a great Sin in you to disturb the Peace and Unity of the Catholick Church, by endeavouring to impose new Articles of Faith upon us about the Blessed Trinity, different from, or contrary to the Definitions of the Council of *Nice*, as you have to believe that it is your Duty to expose the *Nicene* Creed, as contrary to the common belief for almost three Centuries of the Primitive Church. But perhaps if you and I
were

were to talk of these Matters together, we should not part at so wide a difference one from the other. I do sincerely profess that I not only love you, but have a great esteem of your extraordinary Abilities in all the sorts of Learning of which you have treated in your Books. And indeed I know no Author whose Works I read with more pleasure than I do yours: and I do likewise really believe you to be a sincere, honest, and undesigning Man. But then give me leave to add, (for I would desire that you should think me an honest Man also,) that, if you have any weakness, it is this, that you are too fond of new Notions, and oftentimes lay too great Stress upon them; at least it appears so to me. Forgive me this Freedom: I dare say you will; because it is the pure Effect of hearty Friendship and good Will to you. You seem in your Letter to intimate that you have a Collection of your Authorities and Reasons, &c. in order to your Designs already drawn up. If you have a Copy of them by you which you can spare, and would be so kind as to send it down to me, either by the Carrier, or some other safe Hand, I should own it as a great Favour; and will return it to you again as soon as I have perus'd it. By this Means I shall be the better able to form a Judgment of what you are now designing; and consequently more fit to give my opinion, when I shall have the happiness of seeing you. I heartily wish you all Health and Happiness: and I pray God most earnestly to direct you in all your Undertakings, that they may be for his Glory, and the good of his Church.

I am sincerely, with the most hearty
Esteem and Affection,

S I R

Your Faithful Friend,

J O. E B O R.

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VI. I

VI. I cannot but here complain to this Court of the strange manner in which this Accusation is made, and the unfair way of Collecting the Passages excepted against, and the strange Difficulties I am put upon in this Defence. I have long since Written and Published, as Dr. *Pelling* and his Council must very well know, Four intire Volumes, Intituled, *Primitive Christianity reviv'd*; besides other smaller and more occasional Papers afterwards. In those Four Volumes, and in those chiefly, are my Notions and Opinions fully comprehended, distinctly explain'd, and compleatly supported by the Original Sacred Texts, and by the most Primitive Testimonies, especially for the first two Centuries. From those certainly ought my Opinions to have been taken; and out of those ought any Articles to be objected to me. What I occasionally wrote before, in an *Historical Preface*, in order to prepare the World for Enquiry; or in a small Paper by way of Reply to Dr. *Allix*, ought not certainly now, so long after the Publication of those Volumes, to be made use of to any such Purpose. To pick out of Private Letters and Occasional Papers, hastily put together at first, a few Incoherent Passages, to make up a Charge of Heresy against me, after all the 23 Propositions themselves, with all their Explication and Evidence have been so long made publick, seems to be such an Unfair and Partial Method of Procedure as is unworthy the Encouragement of this Court. Especially while the compleat Books are taken no notice of in the whole Matter; and all appears as tho' these small Pamphlets were the only ones that ever I had Written on these Subjects. Not to say also how injudiciously some of the Articles are laid as Doctrines of mine, which are nothing but Affirmations of Facts, or of the Doctrines of the Primitive Christians only. 'Tis true, Dr. *Pelling* seems

seems to screen himself from Imputation in this Case, by taking these, and only these Articles to Convict me of Heresy by, from those that the last Convocation attempted to Censure between two and three Years ago. But then, he has not the same Plea or Excuse for doing so that the Convocation at first had. For at that time those Volumes were not published, and so the Convocation could not make the same use of them that Dr. *Pelling* might and ought to have done. Tho' it be true withal, that the Convocation might have taken the Articles themselves all along out of my Appendix to the Reply to Dr. *Alix*, whence they took a few of them; and that they might have seen my intire Papers in MS. also, before they had passed any Censure at all, if they had vouchsafed to have permitted me to lay them before them at that time. However, I presume Dr. *Pelling* will not take upon him to act in the way of a Convocation; but is bound to the same strict Rules of Justice, Fairness, Examination and Evidence that I am bound by; and that therefore, had he meant any thorough Conviction of me, he should have Challenged not a few stragling Passages in Preliminary Papers, that had all the way a direct reference to the larger Volumes then preparing for the Press, but the intire Series of the Doctrine, as laid down in 23 Articles, and as supported by such unexceptionable Authority all the way also. For, give me leave to say, that Dr. *Pelling*, the Promoter, has strange Favour allow'd him in this Court, not only to have such occasional and accidental Passages admitted as Articles against me, but to have them admitted without any Proof that they are Heretical, or any offer of such Proof, or any Sign that either he or his Council can prove they are so. If I should go and Accuse Dr. *Pelling* of High Treason; and when I had laid the Accusation against him, should not pretend to shew any Law by which the Facts

charged were High Treason, but should insist that he was to prove that they were not High Treason, or else He must be Convicted, I guess how the Civil Courts would look upon such an Accusation and such an Accuser. Yet is this the very Case. I have here certain Occasional Passages picked out of some Preparatory Imperfect Papers Objected to me as Heretical; while the main Account of my Real Opinions, and of the Reasons I go upon is omitted; and while the Promoter, who ought to prove those Passages to be Heretical, declines it, as indeed a Task much too hard for him; but puts it upon me to prove they are not Heretical. Certainly this is strange procedure, and such as this Court does not usually allow of: Tho' such as I do the more willingly acquiesce in, because it gives me the much desired opportunity of laying open my Mind before the Publick, and of shewing to all how Uprightly I have acted, how Cautiously I have proceeded in my Examination, and how Undeniable the Evidence is I have gone upon in this whole Matter. Of all which Things I hope to satisfy the Honest and Impartial by what I intend to lay before this Court, and the World, in the future Course of my Defence on this Occasion.

VII. I must take leave to profess here before you and all the World, that how severely soever you resolve to treat me in this Court, I resolve, by the Grace of God, not to be at all byass'd by this Prosecution. And I do here openly before you all declare my self to be directly a *Christian*, whatever Hazzard I may thereby incur in this World: And I mean by this Declaration, that I resolve still to Believe and Praise what upon the maturest Deliberation, and most exact Enquiry, I shall discover to be the Doctrines and Duties of Christianity, without all Regards to the Decrees and Determinations of this Court, or of any

any Modern Churches, or Parties whatsoever, so far as I am satisfy'd they are contrary to that Christianity. And as I sincerely promise seriously to Weigh and Consider whatever Christian Motives and Arguments you shall lay before me, in the way of Original Evidence, Sacred Authority, or Primitive Records, for the Conviction of my Judgment, and readily to retract all Errors that shall be discover'd thereby ; so do I as plainly assure you, that I shall intirely disregard whatever other Terrors or Penalties you shall think fit to make use of against me. I thank God *I have not so learned Christ* as to forsake any part of what I am satisfy'd is his Religion, for fear of either Legal Degradation, or Excommunication, or, its Civil Consequence, Imprisonment ; which, blessed be God, are now all that the Law inflicts on any in such a Case ; and which, I hope, I shall endeavour, if I be called to it, to undergo with Christian Patience and Submission. I say only Legal Degradation and Excommunication ; for as to any real Ecclesiastical Censure either of Degradation from the Office of a Presbyter of the Christian Church, or of Excommunication from the same, I am no way satisfied how a Civil Court, acting by a Civil Commission, such as you most certainly are, can have Power to inflict them : Nay, I have some Reason to say that I hope you do not lay any Claim to it. For the only Right Reverend Person of this whole Court, whose Opinion I directly know in any such Case, is my Lord Bishop of *Bath and Wells* ; who was pleas'd to assure me with his own Mouth, when he was first Nominated to that See, during the Life of a former Bishop, deprived by a bare Civil Authority, that He would not have accepted of it, had he not had the Consent of the same Bishop himself : As implying his Dissatisfaction with such a meer Lay-Deprivation of Ecclesiastical Persons. But since almost all you that sit here as my Judges, have known my Thoughts upon this Subject, ever since I appear'd before you, from that Paper of *Reasons against these*

Proceedings, which I at first took the Boldness to present you with, I shall enlarge no farther upon it; but only beg of you to Consider well of every step of this important Matter, before you resolve; and to be well assur'd that I really deserve Degradation and Excommunication, at least in a Civil or Legal Sense, before you venture to inflict either of them upon me; as mindful of that great Guilt you will your selves incur in case you pass a Rash or Unjust Sentence. I say a *Rash or Unjust Sentence*: For tho' I hope you are disposed to do strict Justice in this as well as in all other Causes that come before you, yet is there peculiar Danger in the present Case, that you may involuntarily pass a wrong Sentence; because the very Nature of the Cause is New; the Points concern'd are of a deep and uncommon Nature; the Rules of judging by are not soon nor hastily to be Examined; several of the Quotations usually appeal'd to appear to have been read otherwise Originally than they are in our Modern Copies; several of the common Translations are justly to be Altered, as contrary to the Meaning of the Originals; Antient Facts hereto relating have not always been truly stated by the later Authors; Partiality has frequently overborn the Truth, in the Writers on these Controversies. Original Records have been too much laid aside, and Modern Partial Representations taken place; You have not had any Legal Judicial Proceedings in any Prior Ecclesiastical Court, as you usually have, to Assist or Guide you. The greatest Part of your Body are Constituted of such as, how Eminent soever they may be in their own Professions of the Common and Civil Laws, cannot be supposed to have thoroughly Considered these Theological Matters. This is a Case of the greatest Consequence, a leading Case indeed; upon which in great part depends the Freedom or Slavery of this Nation in Religious Matters: And therefore it is not, I humbly conceive, to be determined by bare hearing of some Pleadings in Court, but by an exact

Examina-

Examination of all the Texts and Testimonies at Home. And tho' you may be willing to shorten your Work, by supposing the Convocation did thoroughly Examine these Propositions, before they made that sort of Imperfect Censure upon them: which, I suppose, Dr. *Pelling* depends on; yet is not the Fact so: For, not to say that the Convocation it self (alone) cannot, I think, by our Law determin what is Heresy; it is evident That Imperfect Censure was Voted before my Evidence or Four Volumes were Printed; and when the Members did not, or rather would not see them, even in MS. It was Voted before I was ever heard in my own Defence; nay, while I was all along deny'd to be heard upon the most earnest Application: It was Voted with great Variety in each House; and never yet made the Legal Act of even the Convocation: It was afterwards most strictly Concealed: And tho' Application was at length made to her most Excellent Majesty for her Royal Confirmation; which alone could make it a truly Legal Censure; yet has that Confirmation never been obtained to this Day. So that the Original Examination and Determination of the intire Cause, if you resolve to pass any Sentence about it at all, must certainly belong to you. Which Consideration will, I hope, have that Weight as to oblige you to hear every Argument patiently, to Examine every Testimony of Consequence by the Original, to enter into the intire Merits of the Cause, and at last to Judge and Determine upon the whole Evidence, when it is completely laid before you, and not otherwise; according to that exact Care which all Impartial Judges make use of in their several Courts on other Occasions. Which Procedure if I may depend upon, I am no way Sollicitous of the Success of this Prosecution; but shall have great Cause to thank Dr. *Pelling* for giving me such an Opportunity of an Open and Publick Vindication of my self, or rather of some of you.

the Great and Fundamental Doctrines of Christianity, from the odious Imputations of Arianism and Heresy, under which they have so long and so unjustly lain in the later Ages of the Church. And give me leave to say farther, it highly concerns this Court in particular to be very Cautious in this Case; because it has not only ventur'd without all Precedents, I think, to Judge directly in a Cause of Heresy, but has certainly without all Precedents taken it in the first Instance, and has thereby excluded me from all certain Relief by an Ecclesiastical Appeal elsewhere, which is rarely, if ever, deny'd in the like Causes to any Subject whomsoever. So pressing it seems is the Danger the Church of *England* is in from what looks like Old Christianity! and so zealous are some of her Members to stop its Progress, not by Evidence, Arguments and Testimonies, but by these Legal Proceedings and Prosecutions!

VIII. I beg of this Court to Consider how many Opinions have been sometimes taken for False or Heretical, and accordingly Censured and Condemned by Ecclesiastical Authority; nay, and how many poor Innocent Men's Liberties and sometimes Lives have been taken from them, in consequence of such Censures and Condemnations, when yet those Opinions have appeared upon Examination to be certainly true, agreeable to Christianity, and have accordingly been generally receiv'd afterward. Thus the *Millennium*, or Thousand Years happy State of the Church on Earth, at the End of the World, was esteemed an Heresy for many Ages together, and Condemned as such by the Church; yet is it very evident that it is a Scripture Doctrine, and was believed in the earliest Ages of the Gospel, and does now begin to be acknowledged for true by the most Learned of the Moderns. Thus are the poor *Audians* put by *Epiphanius* among the rest of his Hereticks; and if you enquire you will find by his own

own Account that they were strictly Serious and Good Men, who only refused to obey an Ecclesiastical Law for the time of the Celebration of *Easter*, while they saw it contradicted an Apostolical Law about the same Matter ; and this while *Epiphanius* himself owns that Law to be really Apostolical. So that if we judge by this Case, He it seems is to be esteemed an Heretick, who prefers the Doctrines and Laws of Christ delivered by his Apostles, before the Doctrines and Laws of the Church delivered in her Councils : In which Sense truly, I think, the Word Heresy has been commonly used ever since the Fourth Century. Tho' I must by the way confess, that the later Churches do never directly own this Definition of Heresy, but are still so Wise as to pretend that either the Doctrines of Christ are always to bear the Sense which the present Church puts upon them ; or else that the Church has Power to Alter or Improve those Laws, as she sees occasion ; which Pretences do generally gain her Point as well as the other. Thus also we have in the same *Epiphanius* another Heresy belonging to the *Antidicomarianita*, or those esteemed the *Enemies of the Virgin Mary*, because they denied her Perpetual Virginity ; and accordingly this Denial has long passed in the Church for Erroneous, if not Heretical. Yet it is very plain in Scripture and the earliest Antiquity, that the Brethren and Sisters of our Lord, or the Children which the Virgin *Mary* had by *Joseph* her Husband, were not a few ; and that both *James* and *Jude*, two of the Sacred Writers of the *New Testament*, were of that Number ; as I have fully proved in a particular Dissertation several Years ago, without any Reply. Nor do the Learned, at least among the Protestants, care to reckon that Opinion among the Heresies any longer. Thus, if we go but to the Eighth Century, and therein to the Seventh General Council, the Second Council of *Nice*, where

*Sermons and
Essays, p. 182.
— 196.*

no fewer than 350 Bishops were Assembled, and where the Council it self affirms that the East, West, North, and South Parts of *Christendom* did unanimously agree in the same Determination, we shall find that the grand *Error* or *Heresy* Condemned was that of the *Iconoclasts*, or the Contemners of the Worship of Images; and that grand Doctrine, or rather Practice that was establish'd was, the Worship of those Images themselves, in direct opposition to the Jewish and Christian Revelations, and to all the most Primitive Antiquity: Nor were there wanting Distinctions and Evasions, whereby this gross Superstition and Idolatry was palliated and excused even among Christians. And I think there cannot well be a more affecting, nay, amazing Instance given, to what degree of Extravagance and Impiety the Greatest Bodies, and even General Councils may arrive, when once they leave the Method of fair Examination, and frequent recourse to the Original Records of the Gospel, and go by Policy, Party, Voting, and Modern Determinations only. Thus, to omit a vast Number of Instances, if we come lower, and to our own Nation in *Linwood's* Provincial, that very Book, which is the grand Guide of all our Ecclesiastical Courts in other Matters, and which some of Dr. *Pelling's* Council would have to be still a Legal Rule for Heresy among us, we have the denial of the Adoration of the Virgin *Mary*, of Saints and Angels, nay, of Images themselves, enumerated as Heretical Doctrines, for which Men were to be Prosecuted: which Prosecution many Honest and Sincere Christians have suffered in former Days on those Accounts. Thus also, if we come lower still in our own Nation; What were the mighty Errors, the odious Heresies, for which so many poor honest Christians were Cited, Prosecuted, Condemned, Excommunicated, Imprisoned, and Burnt in Queen *Mary's* Days, but those which are now the establish'd Doctrines of this Church, and part of
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its 39 Articles? Which very Articles yet are themselves introduced as of Authority enough, as to other Points to convict me, in order to all but the last of the same Penalties. Nay, to come still lower, since the Reformation; What mighty Complaints have we formerly had of the *Arminian* Errors, or Heresy? What great Struggles, to hinder its admission? What Vehement Endeavours to support *Calvinism* against it, by new Articles, Subscriptions, and Decrees? What violent Endeavours used, even in Parliament, to secure the one and prevent the other? And yet in spite of all this, some of those Notions, which have been called by the once odious Name of *Arminian*, have by their own Evidence so made their way, that few among us do now embrace the contrary, but such of our Dissenting Brethren, and Presbyterians of *Scotland*, as have not yet given themselves leave to Examine those Matters by Reason, Scripture, and Primitive Antiquity. And indeed, such has been the Folly of these later Ages, that they have sometimes declar'd Philosophical or Astronomical Truths Erroneous and Heretical. Witness that Assertion of *Vigilius's*, concerning the Being of *Antipodes*, for which he was Imprisoned; and which yet every Child that has learnt the Elements of Geography now knows to be true. And Witness that Copernical Assertion, about the Earth's Motion, which was embraced by *Galilao*, for which he was sorely Persecuted, and forced to Abjure it, and which is at this Day in the Church of *Rome* under Ecclesiastical Censures, as False and Heretical; tho' it be now found unquestionably true, and own'd to be so by all Astronomers. Nor do I think what I asserted in my *New Theory of the Earth*, that the Deluge was caused by a Comet, had it ever come before any Council or Synod of the Church since the Days of *Athanasius*, would easily have escaped the like Censures of Erroneous or Heretical. Nor has one of the Representations in the Name of a part of that Body, from which Dr. *Pelling's* Articles against
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me are themselves taken, omitted to Censure that *New Theory*, as one of the Causes of the Infidelity of this Age; altho' it be most evidently design'd to prevent or cure that Infidelity; and will, I hope, more tend to so excellent a Purpose, than a Thousand such Representations as that is: Especially since I am able now to shew the very Comet that then came by, and to prove by all its Circumstances, that it did pass by at that time; as that small Paper, which I formerly made bold to present to most of the Members of this Court, has fully demonstrated. And now I dare Appeal to every one that hears me what is to be esteemed the Natural Consequence of this Observation? 'Tis certainly no other than this, that All Ecclesiastical Assemblies, Synods, and Convocations, should imitate the Civil Courts of Judicature, and fully satisfy themselves about the Original and Authentick Doctrines and Laws of Christ himself, by his Holy Apostles, before they pass any more Sentences, or make any more Decrees about such Important Matters; that they set aside all those Modern and Uncertain Rules and Opinions, which have so often fail'd their Predecessors in the like Cases, and have still recourse to the Original Standards; that they lay no stress on any later Creeds, or Canons, or Constitutions, on any Modern Articles, Liturgies, or Rubricks, but try all by the most Primitive Records themselves; that they trust no longer to that imperfect Catalogue of Canonical and Inspired Books, which the Church of *Rome* has alone put into their Hands, but endeavour to enquire after all the Sacred Books and Remains the Apostles and their Companions have left to the Church; and to receive them accordingly. If this was once done, and an Ecclesiastical Assembly, constituted as the Apostles appointed, should take Cognizance of my Opinions, and resolve to Examine them fairly and thoroughly, by the real Original Standards themselves, and thereupon should discover they were plainly false
and

and Heretical, they would be intirely Justified in Enjoining me to Retract them, and in Rejecting, or Excommunicating me, upon my Refusal, from the Society of Christians. Tho' even that Rejection, or Excommunication, ought to be my *only* Punishment: It being most evident that all farther Temporal or Corporal Penalties are utterly unsupported by, if not contrary to the Christian Constitution, in such a Case. But when nothing of this is done; but all is left to be decided by Modern Settlements and Opinions, Entertained often upon almost no Evidence at all, it must be expected that such Determinations will have little or no weight with the Honest and Impartial; but, on the Contrary, will render all such Ecclesiastical Authority still more and more mean and Contemptible in the World.

IX. It will be here worth our while to Inquire into the true state of the Controversy, and to run over a short History of it in the past Ages, and especially among our selves in the last and present Century, e're we venture into the depth of the same Immediately. It is therefore to be Observ'd that when the Council of *Nice* had Condemned the Rash, Novel, and Unscriptural Notions and Language of *Arius*, and of his particular Followers; It ventur'd to use some expressions on the other side; which seem indeed to be equally Rash and Novel, and were certainly equally Unscriptural; but explain'd their meaning so at that very time as to give tolerable Satisfaction for the present to those that knew those Explications, especially in the Western Parts of the World. But after some years it appear'd that, whatever Expositions they had Privately made among themselves, and in how mild a sense soever they had used those new and unscriptural Expressions, the Body of the Church, especially in the Eastern parts, was highly Offended at them; Especially when the expositions did not always keep pace with the words themselves; and some
going

followers of *Marcellus* and *Athanasias*, two persons of great Intimacy, but little Learning, who were going apace into some Novel Notions and Philosophy, took a handle from them to carry things much farther than the Council ever design'd, and intirely to Corrupt the Ancient Simplicity and sacred Language of the Church, till then Generally preserv'd; and all that under the Notion of Opposition to the odious Heresy of *Arius*, and under the Umbrage of the Council of *Nice*, of it's Condemnation of real Arianism, and of it's own Novel and Unscriptural Expressions before Mentioned. Upon this a great Contest was rais'd in the Church, and the Body of it, especially in the Eastern Parts, did indeed agree with the Council of *Nice*, so far as it Condemn'd direct Arianism, and, in a manner, so far as that Council had explain'd it self upon its Novel and Unscriptural Expressions also; but as for the followers of *Marcellus* and *Athanasius*, with their Improvements and Reasonings, and as to the going on with any of those Novel and Unscriptural notions and expressions, it highly disapprov'd of the same; and in many famous, and numerous Synods, which were assembled in the following 30 or 40 Years, did disclaim and abolish them: while they still took care, as far as possible, to Skreen the Council of *Nice* it self from reproach; and still agreed in the Condemnation of what was properly the *Arian* Heresy, as it had been Condemn'd by that Council before. This was the true state of that Matter, till those most famous and numerous Councils of *Seleucia* and *Ariminum*, A.D. 359. which were, as I may say, one Council met in two places, and Consisted of about 600 Bishops, or about twice as many as met at *Nice* before. This most Oecumenical or universal Council or Councils, which the Church had then seen, agreed to what the generality of the foregoing Councils had done, and settled all upon the ancient foundations, without the

the approbation of either the *Arian*, *Marcellian*,
or *Athanasian* Heresies; and the Emperor *Valentini-*
an jun. A. D. 386. as Doctor *Cave* well
observes, by a Law, still Extant in the
Code, not only attests to the consent of
the Catholicks to it, but Confirm'd its
Decrees as Irreverfible, or Everlasting:
All which fhall be proved by Original
Records in due time. So that hither-

Hift. Lit.
Part II. p.
118.
Cod. Theod.
Tit. De Fi-
de Caſ. L.
IV.

to the Body of the Church, eſpecially in the Eaſt,
Preserv'd the Ancient Chriſtian Faith Unpolluted
from both the *Arian* and *Athanaſian* Heresies.
After this the Heats and Parties grew again in
ſome time more Violent. Some of the Biſhops,
tho' much the fewer in Number, out of Op-
poſition to the *Athanaſian* Heresy, which was
Spreading in ſome Parts, eſpecially in *Egypt*, and
in the Weſt, and was Supported by the *Popes* of
Rome, who came Readily into it, ſeem to have
gone too Near to the very Heresy of *Arius*. Others,
who were much the greateſt Number, ran rather
into the Opposite Extreme: and became more Fa-
vourable to the Contrary Party: and tho' they
could not go into the more Fooliſh Explications of
Marcellus, yet did they by degrees Comply more
and more with the better Contriv'd Notions and
Hypotheſes of *Athanaſius*; till at Length, after
many Attempts and Councils, the *Athanaſian* Heresy
got ſuch Ground as to be the Prevailing Doctrine
towards the latter part of that fourth Century,
tho' not ſooner. Nor was it any great wonder that
when both the Emperors and the *Popes* had Embrac'd
it, their Edicts and Decrees ſhould at laſt Prevail,
and Eſtabliſh the ſame Heresy, together with the
other Branches of Popery, which ſoon followed
it, over the whole Chriſtian World. Accordingly
the *Athanaſian* Heresy, even as Improv'd and Ex-
plain'd by the Schoolmen, and in the *Athanaſian*
Creed

Creed, kept it's ground, and was very little Opposed during all the rest of the Uninterrupted Reign of Ignorance and Popery in the 11. 12. 13. 14. and 15. Centuries. At the time of the Reformation *Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, &c.* happen'd to be so Busy about the other Points of Popery, that they never Particularly Examin'd these Points about the Trinity and Incarnation, Whether the Common Doctrines and Opinions in those Matters, were true or not; but took them all for Granted, without any distinct Examination. However, not a few of the first *Italian* Protestants began to see that the *Athanasian* Doctrines were false; and *Erasmus* himself, who was the great Restorer of Learning, and by far the best Judge of old Christianity then in the World, saw that those Doctrines could not be supported by Primitive Antiquity, and, by the By, gave Sufficient Hints that his Opinion was nearly the same with that of those who had long been called *Arians*. However, He had not Courage enough to stem the Tide; but rather, by Inserting in his third Edition of the New Testament the spurious Verse in 1. Joh. V. 7. Concerning the *three that bear Record in Heaven* from one Pretended MS. in *Britain*, without any Authority at all from his own MSS. and contrary to his own Opinion also, he in effect yielded to the *Athanasians*. So it was no wonder that the common Doctrine still Continued. After some time arose *Socinus*, and several other very great and Learned Persons, who fell upon the Examination of these Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation; and that, to do them Justice, with all possible Application, Sagacity and Seriousness. But alas! these great Men, after they had throughly Confuted the *Athanasian* Heresy, fell into another equally opposite to the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, even that of one Branch of the most primitive Hereticks the *Ebionites*

Unites, which was utterly Irreconcilable to the present Books of Scripture, to the other Apostolical Remains, and to all primitive Antiquity; and thereby gave the *Athanasians* a mighty Handle against them: whence they could make no great Impression upon the Body of Christians, who were directly guided by Revelation; but only upon such as ventur'd to make themselves Doctrines, and those not such as were best attested to, as Christian, but such as seem'd most agreeable to their own Reason. However, several of those new Inquirers did not go that length, but kept closer to the Original Faith of Christians, and settled themselves Churches on that better Foundation; which are not yet extinct in *Transylvania*, *Hungary*, and other Countries. tho' the great difficulty of settling Compleat Societies in Opposition to legal Establishments is always very Great, and not very many of those that call themselves Christians now-a-days have that Courage or sense of Duty as to go openly into measures that are likely to Ocession Disgrace, Losses, and Persecutions, to them. But then, in some time the Learned Jesuit *Petavius* wrote very largely upon these Subjects; and while he pretended to believe the Doctrine of the present Church in these points, he, in a manner, yielded up the *Anconicene Fathers* to those *Unitarians* that have of late been called *Arians*, and thereby gave a great Blow to the *Athanasian* Doctrine. At the same time that truly Great and Good Man *Grotius*, upon his Examination, and, as I have been told, his great Conversation with *Petavius* himself about these Points, saw that the *Athanasian* Scheme was false, and seems also to have seen that the Opinion of late called *Arian* was the primitive Doctrine of Christianity: tho' some, without sufficient Authority, suppose he went over to the *Socinians* themselves.

selves. Not long after this another of the most
 Learned *French* Men, *Huetius* by Name, one whom
 I look on as more Judicious and Honest, and scarce-
 ly less Learned than *Petavius* himself, under the
 Notion of giving us an Account of, and some Apo-
 logy for the great *Origen* and his Notions, who
 was of old Esteemed the Father of those now
 called *Arians*, did not obscurely follow the Exam-
 ple of *Petavius*; and, without owning his own
 Convictions, gave up the Generality of the *Ante-
 nicene* Fathers to those now called *Arians*, as the
 other had done. In *Holland* also that Learned
 Body of Christians called *Remonstrants*, such as
Episcopius, *Curcellæus*, *Limborch*, and others, have
 long been weary of the *Athanasian* Doctrine; Espe-
 cially of the necessity that was usually put upon
 Clergy men and Christians by the modern Churches
 to subscribe or believe the same: without appearing
 fully satisfied which particular Opinions thereto
 relating were really true and agreeable to Scripture.
 At home the most Learned Dr. *Cudworth* was one
 of the first that began to see light in these Matters,
 and Ventur'd a great way, and with great Evidence
 in Antiquity to set them in a better Light, and to
 Correct the modern groundless Notions concerning
 the Numerical Unity and perfect Equality of the
 Persons in the Trinity; and that with no small
 Success among the truly Learned and Judicious; how
 little soever the more Ignorant or Unthinking read
 his Book, or Examin'd his Arguments. Bishop
Pearson also, tho' he fell in a great way with some
 part of the *Athanasian* Doctrine, as it was believ'd
 at first, yet did plainly own so much of Prerogative
 to the Father, and Subordination in the Son,
 with the Rejection of the Numerical sameness of
 Substance in them, as has reduc'd the Learned
 part of the Church, which above all other Books
 seems to Value his Exposition on the Creed, some-
 what

what nearer to the Original faith in this Matter. I pass over the Controversial Books of Dr. *South*, Dr. *Sherlock*, Dr. *Wallis*, Bishop *Stillingfleet*, and some others, as not Written with that Judgment, or Regard to the Original Notions of the first Ages, which they ought to have been ; as well as the several *Socinian* answers to them : which yet could no way be Reply'd to, upon the Common Foundations ; tho' they were not always written with that Seriousness, or Evidence for their own Opinions, that one might expect in such a Case ; and I Observe by the way, that it was visible how plainly every one of these eager Adversaries could Confute the notions of his Adversary, and how Weakly he could support his own ; How Clearly Dr. *South* could confute the Tricheism of Dr. *Sherlock* ; and Dr. *Sherlock* the *Sabellianism* of Dr. *South* ; and the *Socinian* Animadversers, the gross Absurdity of both ; without being able any of them to give a Satisfactory Account of the true Doctrine of the Trinity, in agreement with the Scriptures, and the most Primitive Writers ; and also that the Church could not then nor ever since be prevail'd on to declare Authentickly for any Side, or to let her Sons know what Notions about the Trinity they were to embrace. But to Proceed ; I Observe here farther, That some other Books written about the same time with the former made more Impression, and that the present Attempt to set these Doctrines on a better Foundation, has been in part owing to the same. The first I shall name are the 28. Propositions, suppos'd to be written by the Right Reverend the late Lord Bishop of *Gloucester* ; which tho' a very small Pamphlet, and Written without a deep Knowledge in Christian Antiquity, or indeed Venturing to the Bottom of the Controversy, did plainly set the matter in a much better View, and advanced Notions much more Rational and more agreeable to the Scriptures, than any of

the fore-mentioned. And from hence, in part, do Date my own first Glimmerings of Light in these Matters. It being very Obvious to me, who had Studied the Bible from my very Child-hood, tho' I had not then read the other Ancient Records of Christianity, to take notice that the Bishop's Notions, (which certainly are somewhat near to those that have long been called *Arian*, tho' they do not go so far) were vastly more agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, than those others that were then Current among us. The second Pamphlet that gave some farther Light, was Dr. *Pains* three Sermons about the Trinity, with his Notes upon them; which tho' they were very Offensive to the strictly *Orthodox*, and had like to have drawn down a Persecution upon the Author, yet did certainly come nearer to the Original Doctrine, and Demonstrated the Foundations of it, [*viz.* That the one God of the Christian Religion, was no other than God the Father only; and that the Word God, was not used in Scripture absolutely in the same manner of the Son as it was of the Father,] by better Evidence than of late had commonly been made use of among us. But the Third and Principal Book that has occasion'd the most Dispute, and has most contributed to the rejection of the gross Scholastick *Athanasian*, or rather disguis'd *Sabellian* Doctrines, I mean those of the Numerical Unity of the Substance, and of the absolute Equality of the Three Divine Persons, as well as to the stopping the Progress of the other Parts of the Original Doctrine, was that of Bishop *Bull's* Defence of the Council of *Nice*. For this most Learned and Judicious Person, who was a great Reader and Admirer of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, and who plainly saw no small part of the Evidence that those called *Arians* had among them for their Doctrine, and that part, at least, of what they alledg'd against the modern gross *Athanasians* or *Sabellians*, was undeniably

bly true ; he was thence, as he owns himself, under strong Temptations to go directly into those Ancient Doctrines. But upon farther Consideration, and a very mistaken Notion, as to part of the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, unsupported by all Original Authority, he at length prevailed upon himself to stop short ; and having given up as Indefensible Part of the common Doctrine, he satisfy'd himself to stay where he thought the Council of *Nice* did so ; and thereupon he wrote that his most famous Book above-mention'd : Tho' indeed this was done in a way too Positive, too Vehement, and with too great a Contempt for his Opposers, and in particular for that Great Young Man *Sandius*, who had some time before written most Learnedly for the *Eusebian* Doctrine. This Celebrated Work of Bp. *Bull* had a mighty Approbation from the Church of *France*, which had been, 'tis likely, not a little concern'd at the Concessions of two of their greatest Men, *Petavius*, and *Huetius*, in this Point ; and was highly applauded at home also ; and indeed does contain all that can be said for that Cause ; nay, a great deal more than, upon a nice Examination, can be justified. Tho' it indeed shews also but too plainly, how almost all Controversy Writers impose upon themselves and the World ; and how easily they can make themselves and others believe those Facts or Notions to have been anciently real, which they have now a great mind should be so. This Book of Controversy I own to be the best that ever has been, or can be written by the wisest *Athanasians* ; and I farther own, that I believe it will prove the last very considerable Book that ever will be Written by them. For to proceed now to the present State of the Dispute, and to omit the mention of the Great Mr. *Lock*, an Anonymous Author, and others now alive, I shall come to my own History, and to that Hand I have had in this Controversy.

And here I must inform this Court, if they do not already know it, that when I some Years ago Studied these important Matters, according to my usual Method in Chronology, and in other Points of Consequence, wherever they depend on Facts and Testimonies, I found it absolutely necessary to alter the intire Nature of the Enquiry; and tho' I was Educated in the *Athanasian* Doctrine, and had no Temptation from this World to incline me to forsake it; nay, had all my future Interests and Hopes here depending on it, yet did I resolve to Enquire for Truth at any rate, and to take the best Method I could in order to discover it. Accordingly, before I pronounced about the Ancient Christian Doctrines, I resolved with my own Eyes to read all the old Christian Books both Sacred and Primitive, and from thence, and thence only, to draw my Account of the Original Notions of the first Ages. I resolved also to do it Impartially; and no more to omit or pervert the Passages that might seem to favour the one Side, than the other: And I resolved to take the Opinions of the First Century from the Writers of that Century, of the Second from the Writers of the Second, and of the Third from its own Writers; and so to see Impartially what were the real Opinions of the Church at the Council of *Nice*, from a Perusal of the Original Records of that Council themselves, and of those that were in whole, or in part Contemporary with them; without the unfair way of explaining Authors of the First and Second by those of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries; or making the one say what the others said, or rather what the Moderns have a Mind they should say; and from all the other like Methods, by which a fair and upright Person would enquire into their real Opinions. Upon this exact Enquiry I soon discovered the Weakness of the *Athanasian* Doctrine, the Manner, and Time, and Occasi-

Occasions of its Introduction; and have long since laid the greatest part of my Evidence before the World, not by Writing a Book of Controversy, after the Modern way, but by producing the most Antient Texts and Testimonies, whereon these Important Doctrines depend, in their Native Simplicity, both in their Originals, and in *English*, for the view of all; with only a few Notes of my own for Illustration, and Confutation of Bishop *Bull's* Mistakes; and with a Solemn Appeal to the most Learned and Judicious for the Truth and Fairness of that Account, and of those Quotations. These Accounts, as to the most Ancient Times, are contained in the Fourth Volume of my *Primitive Christianity reviv'd*; and they have been now so long in the Hands of the most Learned, at first in MS. and since in Print, without an Answer, that I am bold to say, it is a plain Sign the Evidence is looked on by them as very strong, and the Testimonies not easy to be Answered. I say my Papers are still *without an Answer*, notwithstanding so many smaller or larger Pamphlets have been written against them, or against their Author. For I dare say the most Learned and Judicious, even among those that have not yet relinquish'd the *Athanasian* Doctrine, will not pretend that any, or all those Pamphlets have properly given an Answer to my Evidence, or have shewn by equal Evidence that the common Doctrines were those delivered by Christ and his Apostles; or indeed that my Accounts of the Original State of Christianity were considerably mistaken by me. Most of them, on the contrary, are so very weak, that they have done great Service to old Christianity, and have helped to satisfy thinking Men how Indefensible the *Athanasian* Cause must be, when they see so many of those that have taken upon them to vindicate it, and some of them Persons of no small Note in the Church also, have had

so little that is really Solid and Substantial to oppose me with. Nay, the University and Convocation itself, those Great and Learned Bodies, to whom I took the Boldness of Dedication some of my Papers, have all along been so utterly averse to any thing like Examining or Answering, that they never could be persuaded to hear me at all; nor could the Convocation be ever induced to review their first imperfect and hasty Censures upon my Notions, even after the Publication of my Four Volumes, and the full Explication of my Opinions, and Production of my Evidence for the same. They never could be brought to name a Committee to hear me, or confer with me, how earnestly soever I wished for it. They have never so much as desired or appointed any truly Learned and Judicious Men to Write an Answer: Nay, they have never been willing to determine which are those particular Texts of Scripture, Testimonies of Antiquity, or Passages in the two first General Councils, on which their Censures or Accusations were founded. And indeed the only very Learned, Judicious and considerable Books that have appeared since upon this Subject, I mean Dr. *Clark's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, and its Defences, tho' they seem to me not to go quite so near the Original Doctrine as did the Council of *Nice* it self, are yet known in good measure to contain the very same Notions that I had before deliver'd; and to add a great deal of new Evidence to them, both from the Ancients and Moderns also. Nor, as is very well known, has any one of the *Athanasians* given so much as a tolerable Answer to those his Books hitherto: So that this Court seems plainly Appealed to as the last Remedy against this Attempt, for restoring some Doctrines of old Christianity: And I dare say, is generally more depended on for the suppression of the same, than all the other Replies
and

and Authorities which have already appeared, or which are expected to appear upon this Occasion.

X. I observe that these Articles seem to contradict themselves, and the most Authentick Rule of the Church, for the judging of Error and Heresy by: For part of the Charge upon me is this, "That the better to support my Heretical Opinions, I endeavour to introduce the Apostolical Constitutions as a Sacred and Canonical Book of the *New Testament*". So that it seems this Court, and the Convocation, whence these Articles are taken, do allow, that the Apostolical Constitutions favour those Doctrines of mine, that are here stiled Heretical. Yet are the Canonical Books of the *Old* and *New Testament* here and every where justly by all made a Grand Test of Truth, and at least One of the most Sacred Standards for Judging of Error and Heresy by. So that if the Eight Books of Apostolical Constitutions be really Canonical; nay, contain'd in all the numerous Copies of the Original Canon itself in all Languages, even at this very Day, which I take to be the real Truth of the Case, these Articles contradict themselves, and I am hereby cleared, and the *Athanasians* convicted of Error or Heresy. 'Tis true, the same Articles do also affirm, That these Books "Were never yet acknowledged as part of the Canon of Scripture by any General Council, nor received as such in any Christian Church". And I confess, that when the Convocation first made this Censure, I mean before they saw my Papers, they, as well as the rest of the World, might suppose the Facts to have been so. But that this should be affirmed here again, so long after the Publication of the Third Volume of my *Primitive Christianity reviv'd*, wherein it is fully shew'd, that those Assertions are intirely False and Groundless, is very strange and surprizing. I have there

there proved, [p. 655-659.] that this Book appears to have been ever esteemed Canonical; that accordingly Seven of the Eight General Councils either directly quote their last Chapter, that is, those Canons, the last of which reckons the Constitutions among the rest of the Canonical Books; which is the Case, as to the first Four; and for the Three last, being all that had any occasion to speak directly of the Canon of Scripture, they unanimously confess the same Constitutions to be Canonical. In Truth, the Handle which has been taken of late to leave these Constitutions out of the Modern Canons, or Catalogues of Inspired Writings, appears to have been only the Unacquaintedness of the late Ages in this important Matter, their not observing what the Ancients meant by the *Canon of Scripture*, and by *Canonical Books*, or *Books in the Canon*; and their Injudicious way of Confounding some Partial Canons, or some Ancient Catalogues of the Publick Books of Christianity, openly read in Churches, with the Intire and Original *Canon* it self, or compleat Catalogue of Sacred Books, which were then Written when the Canon was made. And I must profess, that I hardly know an Instance of so gross a Mistake in the Modern Learned Men about any other Matter, as they generally make in this important one, about the *Canon of Scripture*. They might indeed with some better shew of Reason have affirmed, that the *Canon of Scripture* is not Authentick; that *Canonical Books* are not of peculiar Authority; that to be *in the Canon* is of no Consequence; because the direct mention of such a formal *Canon*, or of an Authentick Catalogue of *Canonical Books*, is not so frequent till the Fourth Century. But when they pretend to rely upon such an *Ancient Canon*, and to distinguish Books by the Mark of *Canonical Books*, and *Books Uncanonical*, of *Books in the Canon*, and *not in the Canon*, without knowing

knowing or professing, that the 85th Apostolical Canon is the only *Original Canon* of Sacred Books refer'd to in Antiquity, and without knowing and professing that the two Epistles of *Clement*, and the Apostolical Constitutions are most certainly in this Sense *Canonical*, while the Revelations of *St. John* is certainly *not Canonical*, (as indeed most probably not then Written when the *Canon* was made) this is so plain a Mistake in a Point of Antiquity as is very surprizing. However what I desire may be noted on my own Account here is this, that while my Doctrines are owned as attested to by the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and while the *Canonical Books of the New Testament* are also own'd as a Principal Rule and Standard to Judge of Error and Heresy by, 'tis all Absurdity and Contradiction to pretend those Doctrines to be either Erroneous or Heretical; because these Eight Books of Constitutions are most certainly, in the true Original Sence of these Words, *Canonical Books of the New Testament*. But I must not here enlarge upon this Important Subject, but reserve what I have farther to say, and all the Evidence for what I have already said about it, to its proper Place hereafter; where, if this Court please to give me leave, I shall largely Treat of the whole Matter, and produce all my Evidence before you.

XI. I cannot but grievously complain of the hard Treatment I meet with from Dr. *Pelling*, in this Prosecution, which is on account of my honest Designs for reviving old Christianity, while almost all other Notorious Errors, Heresies, and Wild Notions; nay, really Irreligious and Impious Tenets, with their Authors and Publishers, meet with no such Severity, but go on with Impunity, if not with Preferment, I speak not this with the least design to encourage Legal Prosecutions against any mistaken

mistaken Persons, who are of good Morals, and act up to the Laws of Nature, because I am satisfied that such Methods are Ineffectual, Unchristian, and Inhuman; but in my own Defence, and as a grievous Aggravation of the Hardships, peculiar Hardships I meet with in this Case. Thus I am not only joyn'd in the common Vogue, and popular Odium with Irreligious Persons, Hereticks and Blasphemers, by the Famous Dr. *Sacheverel* in his Tryal; I say by Dr. *Sacheverel*, who in his Pulpit with great Zeal Preaches still against me, yet dares not do so much out of it, as either Speak or Write one Word to me in his own Vindication, as my Printed Letter, yet unanswer'd, demonstrates: But am Prosecuted in a Legal Court, in order to my Degradation, Excommunication, and Imprisonment, by Dr. *Pelling*, while those other Persons, so vehemently complain'd of by Dr. *Sacheverel*, and others not inferior to them in Guilt, do still Write, and have Written, Printed and Published what they pleas'd, without Molestation, or any nice Enquiry about them. Nor do I find, that either Dr. *Pelling*, or Dr. *Sacheverell*, or even the Drawer up of the Representation of the Lower House of Convocation, who makes the same vehement Complaints with the last nam'd, have concerned themselves about any such Prosecution. As if they had a greater Dread of the prevailing of that which, for ought they know, may be the real Original Doctrines and Laws of the Gospel, than of the increase of undoubted Errors, notorious Heresies, and gross Deism, if not Atheism it self among us. And since Dr. *Sacheverel* was allowed free Liberty before the highest Judicature of the Kingdom, to produce a vast Number of Instances in that Case, I hope this Court will permit me to produce a smaller Number in this, I mean such as the Doctor has passed over in silence only; for as to those that he has largely Collected, such

as his Citations; from Mr. *Hickeringill*, The Author of the Rights of the Christian Church; Mr. *Blunts* Oracles of Reason; The Author of the Account of the growth of Deism; The Author of the Letter concerning Enthusiasm; The Author of the History of Religion; Mr. *Asgyl's* Argument; The Author of Christianity not Mysterious, and the Authors of the *Review* and *Observer*, they are so well known, that there will be no necessity for a Repetition. I the rather insist upon the Parallel, because I look upon the Prosecution of me to be on account of my open plainness, in asserting what upon the strictest Enquiry I am satisfy'd is no other than real Christianity, as his was, in part for his great Boldness in asserting what he believed to be the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; tho', I doubt, without any considerable Enquiry whether it was agreeable to that Christianity or not. For I am willing to hope, that to be a Confessor or Martyr for genuine Christianity, is not less Meritorious than to be so for the genuine Doctrines of the Church of *England*; and that, how great a regard soever this Court may have for the Laws of the Kingdom, and for the Opinions of the Church of *England* received therein, yet that it will have a still greater regard to the real Laws of the Gospel, and to the original Doctrines of Christianity. Tho' I cannot but complain that I have not yet met with any sign of such superior regard, either in the University, which banished me, or in the Convocation it self, which Censured my Notions; and both of them before any proper Examination whether those Notions were agreeable to Christianity or not. However in hopes of a free and favourable hearing upon this Occasion, I shall take leave to represent to this Court some Books and Notions now current, as grossly Erroneous, and plainly Heretical, and much more proper for their Enquiry and Prosecution, than

than any of those Primitive Doctrines of the Gospel, which I stand here Accused of. Now by such Doctrines as are plainly Heretical, I mean those Condemned as Heretical by the Primitive Church, long before the Council of *Nice* (for after that time, I think, 'tis much harder to affirm what Notions are really to be so esteemed :) And those Hereticks I refer to are, The *Tritheists*, the *Ebionites*, the *Montanists*, and the *Sabellians*. (1.) The *Tritheists*. These are mention'd among the oldest *Gentile* Hereticks of all in the Apostolical Constitutions; and have been ever own'd as such from the first Ages of the Gospel till this very Day. And if there be such a thing as *Heresy* in the World, this must for certain be one of the most gross and undeniable Instances of it. Since the Unity of God; or that there is properly but One Eternal, Unbegotten, Underived, Independant, and Absolutely Perfect Being, is the first Doctrine taught by the *Phænomena* of the World, and by Natural Religion, as well as by the Jewish and Christian Revelations. Yet how many of late among us, and those of great Name and Preferment also, have, and still do support what is little better than gross Tritheism; I am not willing to enumerate. The Multitude and Greatness of Offenders generally prevent both the Ignominy and the Penalty due to the Offences: So I must not complain that the *Tritheists*, or those that assert there are Three Gods, are not Punished; because then all the real *Trinitarians* among the Orthodox would be themselves in very great Danger on that Account. Tho' the Embracers of the Ancient Notion, which was above Three Hundred Years the most general, if not the universal Doctrine of the Catholick Church, as I shall hereafter largely prove, cannot but think it exceeding hard that they must be still Stigmatiz'd and Punished as Hereticks, while those that are little better

better than direct *Tritheists*, are not only not so Stigmatiz'd nor Punished at all, but are commonly in great Reputation and Preferment, as highly Orthodox. 2. The *Ebionites*. These are mention'd in the same Constitutions as *Jewish* Hereticks, and that Passage fully confirm'd as Genuine by *Epiphanius*, when he says, " 'Tis *Heres. XXX.*
 " manifest that All the Apostles reckon *§. 24. p. 149.*
 " the *Ebionites* as Hereticks". Now these *Ebionites*, as reckon'd Hereticks here by the Apostles themselves, were plainly such as profess'd that our Saviour was a meer Man, and the Son of *Joseph* and *Mary*: Tho' afterwards there arose another Sect of them that did not go so far, but allow'd his Birth of the Blessed Virgin, by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost; who were also, tho' in a lesser degree, ever esteemed Hereticks by the Primitive Church. I need not here tell you that our Modern *Socinians* agree with the later Branch of these *Ebionites*. Nor need I represent what Numbers of their Books and Pamphlets were some Years since scattered about amongst us. Both *Dr. Sacheverel*, and the Author of the Representation before-mention'd, have prevented me as to any Complaints upon this Head. Nor shall I bespeak any farther Prosecutions against them in any Sense (farther I say, because they have been almost the only Pretended Hereticks that have in some measure of late been Prosecuted among us,) unless it be upon this Condition, that all the rest that are as really and certainly Hereticks as they, may be as really and effectually Prosecuted with them: Which equal Condition, I believe, they themselves will not refuse. All I shall insist on farther under the present Head is this, That the Church will not lose any Fundamental Doctrin of its Religion because the *Socinians* embrace it; that it will not so readily rank the *Socinians*, who go contrary
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to all Christian Antiquity, with the *Eusebians* who have almost all Christian Antiquity on their sides; and that it will no longer support the opposite Heresies, and thereby give Occasion for any to run into so great an extreme on the other side. (3) The *Montanists*. I mean those that follow *Tertullian*, in such his Heretical Doctrines about the Trinity, as we now where find the Catholicks of that Age acknowledged, and which he himself owns the greatest part of Christians were mightily afraid of, and esteem'd contrary to the first Article of their Creed. That the *Montanists* were esteemed at that time, Hereticks, is known by all; and that their *Paraclete*, or pretended Spirit, that Guided them, did Confirm at least, if not at first, teach *Tertullian*, and his followers, their Notions about the Trinity, we have his own express Testimony. So that *Tertullian's* Notions in this Matter, separate from that of the more Catholick Writers of the same Age, is no great Advantage to any Opinions upon this Subject. Now a main Branch of *Tertullian's* Doctrines about the Trinity was, that tho' the Son of God, was not Coeternal with the Father, nor in strictness equal to Him, but deriv'd from Him, and that the Spirit was deriv'd from the Father, by the Son, as still more Inferior, yet that both the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit had one Substance common to them all, or that the Son was, as it were, a part of the Substance of the Father; and the Holy Spirit, as it were, a part of the Substance of the Son. Nay that Human Souls, were of the Substance of God; and all this without the least pretence to any Apostolical Authority, or Tradition whatsoever; and with the Acknowledgment of his borrowing some of his Language, if not of his Notions also, from the *Valentinian* Hereticks, before Him: all which Facts about *Tertullian* shall be Prov'd hereafter. How near the Heresy of *Tertullian* is to that of the later *Homosuf-*

ans, or those *Athanasians* who, in a strict and Philosophical sence, affirm that the Son, and Holy Spirit, are of the same *Essence* or *Consubstantial* with the *Father* I leave the Impartial to Determine. And I beg of the present Orthodox to consider what small Evidence they have for this strict *Consubstantiality*, in three Centuries, when it is known, that the Term came first from the old Hereticks; and that the earliest and best Authority they have for this Doctrine in the Church, is the Wild Philosophy of the Heretick *Tertullian*, Unsupported by all Sacred and really Apostolical Evidence; and Condemn'd at *Antioch*, by one of the first and greatest of the Ancient general Councils of the Church. These *Homoousian* Hereticks, therefore, as they were Anciently called, ought most certainly to be first Prosecuted, before the *Eusebians* are so treated. These bold Pretenders to know such things as were never reveal'd; about the *Substance*, and *Essence* of the great Author of all things, and how it was Communicated, not only to the Son, but, by him, to the Holy Spirit also. These Introducers of Vain Philosophy into Christianity, nay into Creeds, and Articles of Faith; without the Use of, and Assent to which no Clergy Man shall Officiate, nor Lay-man be esteem'd sound in the Faith; these Men I say, are those that should first be Discourag'd, and Condemn'd, before any Prosecution is begun against others; Especially when it does not appear that the Council of *Nice* it self; which in a very much milder Sence, embrac'd the *Consubstantiality*, would have born either the Elder *Tertullian*, or the later *Athanasian* Doctrine about it; as will appear in due place hereafter.

(4) The *Sabellians*, or those ancient Hereticks, so acknowledged by the whole Catholick Church, who Denyed the Real or Substantial Distinction, between the Persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and reduced the same to a *Modal* Difference
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only. Yet how many, I pray, are there justly chargeable with this Heresy at this Day? and that not only with Impunity, but with great Reputation and Preferment? for to pass over one Person, Mr. *Clendon*, who, by going out of his own Profession did unawares plainly own it in Print, and was Prosecuted for it; how great a part of the present Orthodox are either directly, or very nearly *Sabellians*? I dare not name any names, they are so Numerous, and so Considerable; but that the thing in the General, has of late been too true, I appeal to the famous Dr. *Sherlock*, nay to the most eminent Bishop *Bull* himself; who as they have declar'd most fully and justly, against that Notion in their Writings; so do they freely own the Danger our Church is of late in of falling into it. Nor indeed are these *Sabellians*, which are now so frequent among us, less Hereticks than the *Socinians* themselves in this point. Only the latter do more commonly own their Doctrine in express words; while the former do with less sincerity use all the Terms, Creeds, and Forms of the real *Trinitarians*, but without much more belief of what those words Naturally Imply than the other: which Insincerity therefore, join'd to this Heresy it self, does certainly much more deserve the Animadversion of the Publick, than almost any other bare Error, or even Heresy whatsoever. But, alas! as I said, the Multitude, Character, and Interest of these *Sabellians*, as well as of the *Tritheists*, and *Montanists*, are too great and too Powerful to be Touch'd by me: and how vastly soever they are different from one another, yet do they usually Unite to Crush those they call Hereticks; nay even those that avoid all Heresies, and Resolve to be only the genuine followers, of Original Christianity it self in these Matters. Nor indeed can any complaints, be heard where the Majority is corrupted; since the most gross Hereticks will by such

such a Majority, certainly Vote themselves *Orthodox*. All that I can therefore Hope for under this first head of *Heresy*, which indeed cannot but be most highly Reasonable, is this, that those more Numerous and undoubted Hereticks would have so much common Charity left for those that will not forsake their more pure Christianity for any Heresy whatsoever, as to cease all farther Prosecutions against them; and suffer them to serve God according to their own Persuasions, and Consciences; lest they Incur that Terrible Guilt, at last of fighting against God; and *Persecuting the true Religion of Christ Jesus*. I own, as to my self, that I am of all Men one of the most fearful of falling into real Heresy; and that accordingly I dare not, upon any Modern Authority whatsoever, go into either the *Tritheistick*, the *Ebionite*, the *Montanist* or the *Sabellian*, no not into the *Arian* or *Athanasian* Heresies. Yet am I so sensible of the Intire aversion which the Blessed Author of our Religion ever shew'd against all violence and persecution in such cases, that I think, one of the first things that is now necessary in order to the admission of any one into so much as a Society for Enquiry into Christianity, is to promise, he will have no hand in Persecuting any honest Men on account of Religion. And how far the Temper of some Present Prosecutors in this Church is contrary to Christianity, will deserve your most serious Consideration now, lest by degrees this in part Reformed Church of *England*, which was so long and so vehemently Persecuted by the Papists formerly as Heretical, should, ere it is aware, it self degenerate into the like wicked and antichristian Spirit of Persecution, and that under the same pretence of Heretical Notions also. *Principiis Obstā, Sero medicina paratur. Cum mala per longas invaluere Morass*

XII. I insist upon it that Dr *Pelling* has defer'd his Accusation for Heresy, till the chief, and almost only Support of any part of it has been discover'd to be Spurious. Those that examin the particular Articles here charged upon me, with due care, will soon find that the 4th. in order, which Charges me with asserting that our Saviour was not only begotten but *Created* by the Father, is the principal, if not only Article that could in any Court support a Charge of Heresy against me: because, tho' the Scriptures and the Ancients do frequently affirm that He was *Created*, as well as Begotten, as I shall put past doubt hereafter, yet the ordinary Copies of the *Nicene Anathema's*, which have been a principal Rule for judging of Heresy of late, do inform us, that this Council of *Nice* denounc'd an *Anathema* against those that said He was *Created*, and thereby declar'd that language to be *Heretical*. Accordingly I did once, in a Defence prepared for the Convocation,

*Second Ap-
pend. to Hist.
Pref. p. (ap.
Vol. 1.) 48.*

me, openly acknowledg, that if they prefer'd the Decrees of that Council before the Scriptures, they might Condemn me as an Heretick upon that head, But then, this Charge ought not now to be laid against me; because the intire Foundation where on it is built is now overthrown; and it is certainly found that that clause in the *Nicene Anathema's* is no better than direct Interpolation; that it is no better than *Athanasius's* own Interpolation; nay that its is no better than *Athanasius's* own wilful Interpolation; and this is demonstrated by stronger evidence, than almost any other like Fact at that distance of time can be demonstrated; as I have fully shewn elsewhere.

*Alban. Con-
vict. of Forge-
ry; and Ar-
gument.*

If this Court be not satisfy'd in what I now say; I beg the favour that Doctor *Pelling*, or Mr. *Thirlby* who has defended *Athanasius*, and my self, may

be

be order'd to produce all our ancient Copies and Original evidence here before you ; and because it is in a case of so great importance, that you will please distinctly to determin about the validity of that evidence before you proceed any farther. I desire this the rather here, before so many Judges and Civilians, because you are perpetually used to judge by authentick and original Records in such cases, and are not guided by guesses and artful insinuations ; and because, if I be not much mistaken, you would convict any Man living, in your several Courts, upon less than one quarter of that evidence I have to produce for its being Interpolation. Nor indeed is it fit that so high a Charge as that I now publicly bring against so eminent a Person as *Athanasius*, who is called a Saint, and is vastly admired and followed by the modern Churches; should be pass'd by in this Court, (which pretends to determin, whether what is contrary to *Athanasius's* Doctrine be therefore Heretical or not,) without a through enquiry and examination. I do therefore insist upon it, that the Credit of *Athanasius* in this and other matters, which I am ready to lay before you ; at least in this particular Point, whether the Council of *Nice* anathematized those that said our Saviour was *Created* or not, on which clause your Sentence may very much depend, be here openly enquir'd into and examin'd, before any farther procedure against me ; and that, as I before desir'd, Dr. *Pelling* or Mr. *Thirlby*, as well as my self may be oblig'd to produce our Original evidence in open Court before you, in order to a Legal Determination thereupon. Nay I claim this at your hands as a peice of justice to the Council of *Nice* also, that It may no longer be under the disgrace of anathematizing, what they and all Christians appear then to have own'd to be the express Language of Scripture ; and may no longer be made use of to support what they then never dream'd of,

I mean the Doctrine of *Athanasius*, which was introduced many Years afterward. For if once this Clause be allow'd to be spurious, I will easily undertake before you all to shew that this Council of *Nice* was so far from esteeming the Articles for which I am here Prosecuted to be Heretical, that almost every one of them was the known Doctrine of that Council, and of almost the whole Christian Church at that time; and this by producing the original Records all along in the open View of all Mankind.

XIII. The only Authentick Rules, or Standards by which Errors and Heresies can be Judged of; I take to be these Four: (1) The Original Christian Rule of Faith, which is no other than the Baptismal Creed and Profession. (2) The Sacred and Canonical Books of the New Testament. (3) The most Ancient, whether Apostolical or Primitive Writings of the three former Centuries, before the Council of *Nice*. (4) The first Councils of the Christian Church, especially such as were most Numerous and General. These are all, I believe, in some measure, own'd as the most authentick Rules and Standards by all Men; and even in this very Prosecution. And accordingly I intend to clear my self from this Accusation of Heresy, as to the several Articles charg'd upon me, by an Appeal to every one of those Authentick Rules and Standards. All therefore that I shall have occasion here to observe is this, that no other Rule or Standard, no Modern Laws of any Country, no Canons or Constitutions of any present Church, can be at all set against those other Rules, nor ought to have any distinct Weight in this Case. This indeed is so reasonable, that I might justly take it for granted: but because the Church of *England*, or at least not a few of her leading Members, do of late begin to set up on the foot of Legal Settlements, and to insist that
she

she is the *Church establish'd by Law*; since they have now their main Recourse to later human Canons, Constitutions, and Articles, as confirmed or supposed in Acts of Parliament, and own'd in Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Courts among us: Since many now do in my Case plead that *We have a Law, and by our Law I ought to be Depriv'd, Excommunicated, and Imprisoned*, without any farther Considerations: And since Dr. *Pelling* does, in this Prosecution, seem to depend entirely on this Legal Method, without any previous Regard to rational Debates, learned Conferences, or fair Examination at all; as indeed the other Prosecutions against me have depended still upon the same Foundation hitherto; I must say somewhat to this Plea; and shew why I do not at all Appeal to any such modern and uncertain Rules in my present Vindication; nor am much concern'd if they appear to be against me in any of these Articles. The Particulars I shall therefore insist upon under this Head shall be these Four: (1.) That all such modern Rules, as to the fundamental Doctrines and Duties of Christianity, and as unsupported by better Evidence, must be allow'd by all, especially by all Protestants, to be of no Authority. (2.) That in special the *Church of England* is ever of the same Mind, and wholly depends, as to the fundamental Doctrines or Duties of the Gospel, on those ancient Foundations only. (3.) That the *State of England* has also fully declar'd itself of the same Mind by Act of Parliament. (4.) That accordingly the greatest, and the most eminent and learned of the Members of our Church do not guide themselves by any such modern Rules, but embrace Opinions quite different from the same, whenever they find Scripture and Antiquity are against them. (1.) I plead that these modern Rules, as to such main Points of old Christianity, and as unsupported by better Evidence, must be allow'd by all, especially by all Protestants,

to be of no Authority. This is the common Voice of Nature and Reason, that Facts done, Doctrines taught, Laws made, and Articles of Faith settled by any, between 1600 and 1700 Years ago, can no way be discover'd now by Facts done, Laws made, Canons settled, and Articles agreed to at this vast Distance of Time afterward. To suppose otherwise is to suppose that this Church of *England* had its Worship in a known Tongue, and denied Transubstantiation in the Days of *William* the Conqueror, because it does so now: 'Tis to suppose that the corrupt Traditions of the Elders in our Saviour's Days, must imply that *Moses* himself delivered the same to the *Jewish* Nation originally; and that the History of one Age need not be taken from the Writers of the same Age, but may be learn'd by the History of another, above a Thousand Years after it. Nay indeed this is not only a thing entirely absurd in its own Nature, but it is peculiarly so in Protestants, who have left the Church of *Rome* upon this very Principle, that the Christian Religion was to be taken from Scripture and Antiquity, and not from the later Articles, Constitutions, or Practices of the Church; and who have ventur'd upon the Foot of this Reasoning, to introduce a great Reformation into Christendom. And indeed I hardly know any thing more absurd and unreasonable, than for a Church to build its entire Settlements on this Principle, that former Ages have been so grossly deceiv'd, and have so grossly deceiv'd others in Matters of Religion, that there can no Dependance be had on their Decrees and Doctrines, without immediate Recourse to the Originals themselves; and then, after a new Settlement is introduc'd on this Principle, to leave it again, and to have Recourse to the like later Decrees and Doctrines, without Regard to those Originals any longer. As if the Church of *Rome* indeed were miserably deceiv'd in those

those particular Points which our first Reformers happened to examine and correct; but that, as to all others, she is of the most sacred and infallible Authority: Or, as if this Church of *England* had indeed separated from an erroneous Church, out of Regard to Primitive Christianity; but was now grown so Infallible herself, that she needed not to have Recourse to that Primitive Christianity any longer. But this is impossible to be fairly suppos'd in our Case, because (2.) The Church of *England* in particular ever declares that it depends not on any modern Decrees, Constitutions, or Laws, in any such important Doctrines or Duties of the Gospel, but on the other Inspired and most Primitive Records of Christianity itself only. This we learn from her XXXIX. Articles, her Publick Liturgy, and her Homilies themselves; some Passages out of every one of which I shall take Leave to produce upon this Occasion.

Thus says the VI. Article “ Holy Scripture containeth all Things necessary to Salvation: So that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man, that it should be believed as an Article of Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation ”.

Thus the VIII. Article implies, “ That the very Creeds themselves, or most Sacred Professions of Faith used in this Church, are therefore to be received and believed, because they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture ”.

Thus the XIX. XX. and XXI. Articles affirm, “ That the most Famous and Patriarchal Churches, such as those of *Jerusalem*, of *Alexandria*, of *Antioch*, and of *Rome*, have Erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in Matters of Faith. And that it is not Lawful for the Church

" Church to Ordain any thing that is contrary to
 " God's Word written; and may not so Expound
 " one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to
 " another: That, as it ought not to Decree any
 " thing against the same, so that besides the same,
 " it ought not to enforce any thing to be be-
 " lieved, for necessity of Salvation. That even
 " General Councils themselves are Assemblies of
 " Men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit
 " and Word of God; and not only may Err, but
 " sometime have Erred, even in Things pertaining
 " unto God; and that therefore Things Ordained
 " by them, as necessary to Salvation, have neither
 " Strength nor Authority, unless it may be declared
 " that they be taken out of Holy Scripture". Thus
 in the XXIV. Article, Prayer in an unknown
 Tongue is therefore Censured, because it is a thing,
 how agreeable soever to some Modern Laws, Canons
 and Practice, " Plainly Repugnant to the Word of
 " God, and the Custom of the Primitive Church". In
 XXV. and XXVIII. The carrying about the Eucha-
 rist in Procession, is therefore Censured, because,
 " It was not Ordained of Christ for such Purposes".
 In the XXVIII. Transubstantiation is rejected, " Be-
 " cause it cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is
 " Repugnant to the plain Words of Scripture".
 In the XXXII. The Clergy are allowed to Marry,
 notwithstanding the Churches later Determinations
 to the contrary, because " They are not command-
 " ed by God's Law either to vow the Estate of sin-
 " gle Life, or to abstain from Marriage." And it
 is added that " Therefore it is lawful for them, as
 " for all other Christian Men, to marry at their own
 " Discretion." And in the XXXIV. Any Human
 Traditions and Ceremonies are allow'd, so far only
 " That nothing be ordained against God's Word, or
 " those alone which be not repugnant to the Word of
 " God." So that 'tis most evident, as to these im-
 por-

portant or fundamental Points, which, if any, are to be suppos'd necessary to Salvation, and about which, if any, Heresy is concern'd, our XXXIX. Articles do utterly disclaim any human or modern Authority; and entirely refer us to the Scriptures, and the Primitive Records of our Religion, for our Guidance and Direction about them.

Let us now proceed to the Common Prayer Book, as established by the Act of Uniformity. And here we meet, in the very Preface, with a Declaration of the Compilers, that they are so far from the Pretence of Infallibility, that " They hope for, and " insist on such just and favourable Construction, as " in common Equity ought to be allow'd to all human Writings, especially such as are set forth by " Authority, and even to the very best Translations " of the Holy Scripture itself, " e're they pretend to justify the former Common Prayer Book. And they suppose that " It must not have contained any " thing contrary to the Word of God, or to sound " Doctrine, " upon such an equitable Interpretation, or else it must, notwithstanding all its Legal Authority, have been given up as plainly indefensible. Accordingly, in its Catechism, and Forms of Baptism, and Confirmation, it obliges the Catechumens to engage for nothing on these Heads, but " The " Belief of the Articles of the Christian Faith, " and among those Articles it enumerates not one of the novel contested Doctrines, that occur in the *Nicene* or *Albanasian* Creeds, but is content with those more undoubted and primitive ones in that ascribed to the Apostles: and allows only two Sacraments, and those not as of human, but of Christ's own Institution. In the Preface to its Offices for Ordination, it pleads for the three Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons only from " The Holy Scripture, and the Ancient Authors; " and Orders part of the Examination of a Deacon to be, " Whether he " be

" be instructed in the Holy Scripture? Whether
 " he unfeignedly believes all the Canonical Scrip-
 " tures of the Old and New Testament? Whe-
 " ther he will apply all his Diligence to frame and
 " fashion his own Life, and the Lives of his Family,
 " according to the Doctrine of Christ? It Exhorts
 " Presbyters, that since they cannot by any other
 " Means do their Duty, but by Doctrine and Ex-
 " hortation taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and
 " by a Life agreeable to the same; to be studious
 " in reading and learning those Scriptures; and in
 " framing the Manners both of themselves, and of
 " them that specially pertain unto them, according
 " to the Rule of the same Scriptures. And that
 " they are to pray continually to God the Father,
 " by the Mediation of our only Saviour Jesus Christ,
 " for the Heavenly Assistance of the Holy Ghost,"
 " *the very Model of Worship that I contend for,* and that
 " it will be expected from them, that " By daily
 " reading and weighing of the Scriptures, they
 " wax riper and stronger in their Ministry, and
 " are to fashion the Lives of them and theirs after
 " the Rule and Doctrine of Christ." Some of the
 " main Engagements they are to take upon them are
 " these, " That they are perswaded that the Holy
 " Scriptures contain sufficiently all Doctrine requi-
 " red of Necessity for eternal Salvation, through
 " Faith in Jesus Christ; and that they are deter-
 " mined out of the same Scriptures to instruct the
 " People committed to their Charge; and to teach
 " nothing (as required of Necessity to eternal Sal-
 " vation) but that which *they shall be perswaded*
 " may be concluded and proved by the Scripture:
 " That they will be ready with all faithful Diligence
 " to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange
 " Doctrines, contrary to God's Word; and will
 " be diligent in Prayers, and in reading of the Ho-
 " ly Scriptures, and in such Studies as help to the
 " Know-

“ Knowledge of the same. ” These are part of the solemn Engagements of all Deacons and Presbyters with us: which I the rather insist on, because I have taken both those Orders in this Church, and made these Promises; and because every Presbyter’s *own Persuasion*, as to the Agreement of fundamental Doctrines with the Scripture, is here made their Standard; and they are to teach them *according to that their own Persuasion*, and not otherwise. Which Obligations I having most exactly comply’d with, I cannot but think it very hard to be prosecuted for doing so. Nor need I enlarge upon the next Form, that for Ordaining of Bishops; since it does not belong to me; and since it is so much of a piece with the former in this Matter. Only we may remark one Addition, wherein not the Holy Scripture only, but the *Ancient Canons* are introduced as of considerable Authority among Christians; in a still greater Agreement with the forementioned primitive Rules and Standards. So that ’tis evident the Liturgy of the Church of *England* makes the *Scripture*, *Antiquity*, and the *Old Canons*, and not any late Opinions or Decrees, the Measure of judging about Doctrines of this Consequence in the Christian Religion. Let us now proceed to the Book of Homilies, which the XXXVth Article of our Church declares to “ Contain good and wholesome Doctrine, “ and necessary for those Times; ” and which are accordingly still ordered by Publick Authority to be read in our Churches. And here instead of recommending any Human Constitutions, this Book begins with “ A Fruitful Exhortation to the Reading “ and Knowledge of Holy Scripture. ” The Preface begins with Observing “ The Necessity there “ is of Preaching the Word of God; and that it is “ the only Food of the Soul, in order to the Peoples learning their Duty, according to the Mind “ of the Holy Ghost, expressed in the Scriptures; “ and

" and to the avoiding the manifold Enormities;
 " which heretofore, by false Doctrine, had crept
 " into the Church of God: That these Homilies
 " were Published to this very End, that by the
 " true setting forth, and pure declaring of God's
 " Word, which is the principal Guide and Leader
 " unto all Godliness and Virtue, they might expel
 " and drive away as well corrupt, vicious, and un-
 " godly Living, as Erroneous and Poisoned Do-
 "ctrines, tending to Superstition and Idolatry."
 The first Homily begins also with declaring, that
 " Unto a Christian Man there can be nothing ei-
 " ther more necessary or profitable than the Know-
 " ledge of Holy Scripture; and that there is no
 " Truth nor Doctrine necessary for our Justification
 " and everlasting Salvation, but that is or may be
 " drawn out of that Fountain and Well of Truth."
 It afterwards exhorts Men " Diligently to search
 " for the Well of Life, in the Books of the New
 " and Old Testament, and not run to the stinking
 " Puddles of Mens Tradition, devised by Mens
 " Imagination, for our Justification and Salvation;
 " because in Holy Scripture is fully contain'd what
 " we ought to do, and what to eschew; what to
 " believe, what to love, and what to look for at
 " God's Hand at Length; and because in these
 " Books we shall find the Father from whom; the
 " Son by whom; and the Holy Ghost in whom all
 " Things have their Being and Keeping up: "
*(which is so far the very Original Doctrine of the Tris-
 nity which I am here contending for.)* But it would
 be tedious to repeat all that the Homily contains of
 this Nature; So I forbear: And only Observe that
 the very same great Disregard for all later Human
 Decrees and Determinations, and the same high
 Regard to the Scripture, and the other Primitive
 Books of our Religion, appear in these Homilies,
 that we found before in the Articles and Liturgy

of our Church, as to those great and fundamental Doctrines we are now concern'd about. And tho' it cannot be deny'd that our first Reformers were, in their own Opinions, *Athanasians*, as having never brought that Matter under any Examination; and that accordingly they have left but too many Testimonies of that their Opinion every where, nay even by burning some that would not renounce the opposite Doctrine; yet is it most evident that this was all done before the Controversy was started, or they were appriz'd of the Arguments on the contrary Side; before the Ancient Writers had been consulted, or the first Councils of the Church enquired into thereupon; before they had heard of any other opposite Notion in the fourth Century than the *Arian* Heresy itself; before there had arisen any Evidence for another Reading or Translation of some of the principal Texts on which the common Notions much depended; and while the Reformers seem to have been as fully persuaded that the *Athanasian* Doctrine was clearly and fully contain'd in the Scripture, as any fundamental Doctrine of the Gospel itself. So that it is most evident from their whole Conduct, that had the Ancient or *Eusebian* Doctrine been laid so plainly before them, and so fully demonstrated to be no part of the *Arian* Heresy, but the original, pure, and uncorrupt Doctrine of the Baptismal Creed, of the Holy Scriptures, of the *Antenicens* Fathers, and of the earliest Councils, as this is now laid and demonstrated before the present Church, they would plainly not have appointed a Court to punish, but a Committee to examine. They would not, for certain, have strain'd some old Popish Canons to convict the Proposers of Heresy; but would have try'd all by the Holy Scriptures, and the Primitive Writers; they would not have encouraged a Person in Holy Orders to turn Informer in an Ecclesiastical Court against a Brother Cler-

Clergyman, who had honestly and thoroughly studied the Point himself, and desir'd others to study it likewise; but would have been glad of better Light, and have endeavour'd honestly to correct all modern Errors, and to reduce all to the Primitive Standard. This, I say, our first Reformers must have done by their Principles, and would, in all Probability, have done in Practice, out of that Honesty and Integrity which they shew'd in all the other like Cases of modern Corruptions crept into the Church. And this is all I expect from the present Churches. (3.) I plead that the Scripture and Antiquity, and not any modern Rules or Articles, must be the Guides to judge of great Errors and Heresy by in this Nation, because the *State of England*, as well as the *Church*, has declar'd itself fully on this Point, and that in the most Authentick Manner possible, that is, by Act of Parliament. This is a Matter perhaps more proper for my Council than for myself to plead in my Behalf. Yet give me Leave, since it comes so properly in my way, to mention it myself also upon this Occasion. And indeed it being the principal, if not only Clause in any Act of Parliament since the Reformation, that directly meddles with this Matter; and it being very full and express on my Side of the present Question; I shall take Leave to set down that Clause entirely, as containing the Authentick Protestant Rule for such High Courts to judge of Heresy by. And it is in these Words:

‘ Provided always, and be it Enacted by the
 1. *Eliz.* ‘ Authority aforesaid, that such Person or Persons to whom your Highness, your Heirs or
 ‘ Successors shall hereafter, by Letters Patents under
 ‘ the Great Seal of *England*, give Authority to have
 ‘ or execute any Jurisdiction, Power, or Authority
 ‘ Spiritual, or to visit, reform, order, or correct any
 ‘ Errors, Heresies, Schisms, Abuses, or Enormities
 by

* by vertue of this Act, shall not in any wise have
 * Authority or Power to order, determine, or adjudge
 * any Matter or Cause to be Heresy, but only such as
 * heretofore have been determined, ordered or ad-
 * judged to be Heresy by the Authority of the Cano-
 * nical Scriptures, or [as] by the first four General
 * Councils, or any of them, or by any other General
 * Council, wherein the same was declared Heresy by
 * the expresse and plain Words of the said Canonical
 * Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be ordered,
 * judged, or determined to be Heresy by the High
 * Court of Parliament of this Realm, with the Assent
 * of the Clergy in their Convocation. Here we see,
 that when the Protestant Legislature came to make
 a standing Rule for even such an High Court as this
 now is; acting by a Royal Commission, as this Court
 now does; about that very Crime of Heresy which
 this Court now sits upon, it allows of no later Ca-
 nons or Decrees of this or any modern Churches, as
 Rules for judging of Heresy by, but entirely ex-
 cludes them. It restrains all to the Sacred Scrip-
 tures, and to the Determinations of the earliest Ge-
 neral Councils from them. It excludes either all the
 General Councils in general, or however all since
 the fifth Century, from any proper Authority at all;
 nay it will not trust the Convocation, the Legal
 Representative of the Church of *England*, with Vo-
 ting any thing else to be Heresy without the Assent
 of the Parliament itself also. So that I think this is
 sufficient Evidence of the Sense of the Protestant
 State of *England*, as the foregoing was of the Prote-
 stant Church of *England* in this Matter. (4.) The
 greatest, the most eminent and learned of the
 Members of our Church do not guide themselves
 by any such modern Rules, but embrace Opinions
 quite different from the same, whenever they find
 Scripture and Antiquity against them. This Asser-
 tion is so very true and certain in this as well as

other Churches, that 'tis only the Vulgar, the Unlearned, and the Unthinking that frame their Opinions according to any such modern Constitutions; while the Great, the Learned, and the Considering Men have little or no Regard to them at all in their inward Sentiments; whatever Subscriptions, or Assent and Consent, whatever common Forms of Creeds, or Articles, or Prayers, they, out of Regard to Publick Peace, to Preferment, or to Self-Preservation, do generally comply with. This is said to be very remarkable in the Church of *France*; where those that intimately know their Learned Men, do also perceive how little Influence the publick Subscriptions and Forms of the Popish Religion, submitted to by them, really have upon their Minds and inward Persuasions. Nor is this much less remarkable in the Learned Men of our Church; and as to many Points, in almost all the considerable Members of it, among the Unlearned themselves. This Assertion shall be prov'd, not by enumerating some particular Churchmens Opinions, in Opposition to the publick and establish'd Notions, Doctrines, or Practices of the Church; which Method would be liable to great Objections; but by producing several Instances in the Churches most Authentick Acts, of such Assertions, which we all know the Learned, nay commonly the very Unlearned themselves of our Communion do not, cannot assent to; as being discover'd to be Mistakes, and unsupported by, if not contrary to, the Scripture, and Primitive Antiquity; and are accordingly of very little or no Authority among us. I mean all this according to the usual, obvious, known Sense of Words, as they naturally signify, or were certainly meant by those that at first imposed them; for otherwise we have no Measure nor Standard to know any Man's Opinions by at all; nor, in such a Latitude of Interpretation, as is used
fre-

frequently in such Cases, Can Dr. *Pelling* himself pretend that the Articles he charges upon me are either False or Heretical: which I desire may be particularly observ'd. Thus, to instance in our XXXIX. Articles: Tho' they be signed by every Clergyman, nay commonly at the University by young Scholars, long before they are Clergymen; and I believe frequently before they know any thing of them, or indeed ever read them; yet do I desire to know where any Learned Men of our Church do really and truly, in the obvious Sense of the Words, believe all of them? I profess I have not met with one in all my Conversation. I have also liv'd many Years in one of our Famous Universities: In which the XVII. or Predestinarian Article in particular was so far from being generally believ'd, that Dr. *Edwards*, who professed still to believe it there, seems to have been almost singular and alone by himself in such his Belief thereof: And used indeed, as he has no small Pretence, to triumph over the University and the Church on that account; as tho' he alone were in those Points a true Churchman, and they Deserters of their very Articles. Nor will I be so injurious to Dr. *Pelling* himself as to suppose him so far a *Calvinist* as to believe it; tho' he be now prosecuting me for my disbelieving other Articles, which stand upon much the same Authority with this. But to come to other Particulars. What really Learned and Judicious Member of the Church of *England* does now believe that Christ truly *went down into Hell*, in the vulgar Sense of that Term in our Language, as the III. Article, and the common Creed assert? or assents to that Definition of Her Canonical Books, that "They are such, of whose Authority was never any Doubt in the Church;" as the VI. Article affirms: While all the Learned very well know that several of those Books, which we all own for Canonical, have been

doubted of in the Church, and that in early Ages also. What really Great and Good Men can affirm with the VIII. Article, "That not only that called the Apostles Creed, but the *Nice* Creed, and *Athanasius's* also, may be proved by most certain Warrant of Holy Scripture;" while 'tis known that the New Articles in the first, and no small part of the second, are at least unsupported by those Scriptures, if not plainly against the whole Current of them. And for the Damnatory Sentences, they rather create an Horror in the Minds of those good Christians that are thoroughly vers'd in the Holy Scriptures, or even the ancienter Creeds and Writings of the Primitive Christians. Where, by the way, I desire it may be Observ'd that none of these Creeds are really what they pretend to be: That Creed here said to be commonly called the Apostles Creed, tho' it be much the best, is not theirs, and indeed cannot be found within the first Four Hundred Years; that here called the *Nice* Creed is not the Creed of the Council of *Nice*, but of the Council of *Constantinople*, held 56 Years after; and that here called *Athanasius's* Creed, was not made by *Athanasius*; but at the soonest by a Counterfeiter of Books under his Name, above 100 Years after his Death. I desire also it may be noted farther, that the *Athanasian* Creed was not admitted into the publick Service of the Church, till about 1000 Years after our Saviour, in the very midst of Popish Ignorance and Superstition: And also that its Admission at first, and its Continuance still is in open Defiance of the Decrees of the third and fourth General Councils, receiv'd by our Church; both which forbid the Introduction of any Creed after that of *Nice*, as improv'd by the Council of *Constantinople*, in the most exprefs Manner imaginable. All which Assertions I am ready to prove by the most Authentick Evidence, and even by the known Concessions of

of the *Athanasians* themselves, if this Court please to permit me so to do. Who is there, even among the Unlearned themselves, if they be not acquainted with *Calvin's Scheme*, who in earnest believe that "Original or Birth-Sin, *i. e.* a Sin wholly Involuntary, does in every Person born into this World "deserve God's Wrath and Damnation;" as the IX. Article asserts. Nor do many of our Church now care to speak so expressly against St. *James's Doctrine*, that *a Man is justified by Works, and not by Faith only*; as does our X. Article, when it directly declares that *we are justified by Faith only*. Nor indeed do they I believe generally care to pronounce with the XIII. Article, that "Works done before Regeneration have the Nature of Sin." And to give an Instance or two from our Liturgy, The Rubrick after the Baptism of Infants affirms, with great Assurance, that "'Tis certain by God's Word, that "Children which are Baptized, dying before they "commit actual Sin, are undoubtedly saved;" which of the Learned can be satisfied with this, while they cannot but know that there is nothing about it in God's Word; and when the same Liturgy also in the proper Preface for Trinity Sunday has these Words; "We give Thanks unto thee, "O Lord, Almighty, Everlasting God; who art "One God, One Lord, not One only Person, but "Three Persons in One Substance. For that which "we believe of the Glory of the Father, the same we "believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without "any Difference or Inequality." Does any sober *Athanasian* himself, such as Bishop *Pearson*, Bishop *Bull*, Mr. *Nelson*, or others of their Knowledge in Scripture and Antiquity, and who so fully own the Subordination of the Son and Holy Spirit, in earnest believe this strange Doctrine, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are *without any Difference or Inequality*? And the like I might say of many other Assertions in the Publick Acts of this Church, and in-

deed of all the modern Churches; which tho' comply'd with, in some Sense or other, for the Sake of Peace and Preferment, yet are by no Means believ'd by the truly Learned and Judicious in any of their Communions.

And now I dare appeal to all the World, whether such uncertain Articles and Assertions as these, to say no worse of them, are proper Standards whereby to determine what is Heresy or Error by the Christian Religion? Are the particular Opinions of some of our first Reformers, in the Infancy of Learning, to be advanc'd high enough to condemn those that have discover'd some better Truths, to a Prison during Life? Are such weak and human Determinations of one *English Synod A. D. 1562.* to Prejudge all Doctrines that do not just square with their Model? Are such Articles, which many of the greatest of our Divines have affirm'd, and almost all have wish'd that they had been made as Articles of Peace only; many of which are believ'd by very few; nay are forc'd to have unnatural Senses put on their Words to make them at all tolerable; Are, I say, such Articles to be deem'd equivalent to the Rule of Faith, to the Holy Scriptures, to the most Primitive Fathers, and to the first Councils of the Church? This is so gross and absurd, and contrary to Dr. *Henchman's* own Pleading about the Authority of Scripture, that had I not heard some of Dr. *Pelling's* Council, and even Dr. *Henchman*, in Contradiction to himself, insisting on such weak Topicks, I should hardly believe it possible for Men of Learning in their several Professions to support a Notion so utterly indefensible. Tho' indeed this I must say, that in Case our Ecclesiastical Courts are fond of judging about Error and Heresy, and of Condemning the Erroneous and Hereticks, they need only Determine that the old Popish Canons, together with our own 39 Articles, and the like modern

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Constitutions, are the Measures and Standards of Orthodoxy, and that all Denyal of them is either Heresy, or at least so gross an Error as will incur the same Punishment with Heresy, and they may have no small Part of the Nation of all Persuasions into their Courts immediately: And, unless they will recant, into their Prisons also. Only I desire they would consider the Consequence of all this before it be too late; lest those that in one Year or one Reign sit as Judges, or plead as Council on these Occasions, should in another stand here themselves as Criminals, as I am oblig'd now to do; and this with so much the less Pity, as they will be conscious of their own Guilt, and bitterly remember how they *digged the Pit, and are fallen themselves into the Destruction that they made for others.*

XIV. As I have already laid down the Original Standards of judging about the fundamental Doctrines of Christianity, and of determining what are dangerous Errors and Heresies therein; so do I desire Leave, before I begin my proper Defence, to explain myself here more particularly about the special Rules and Measures by which I shall go in that Defence; that so it may be as plain, authentic, and unexceptionable as may be. Under this Head therefore I desire this Court to Note, (1.) That I reckon the Constitutions of the Apostles, as well as *Clement's* two Epistles, among the Books of Canonical Scripture; since they appear now in all the Copies of that original Canon, and appear to have been in the same from the beginning. Nor shall I make any Scruple of joining the *Revelation* of St. *John* to the Canonical Books, tho' it be in no Copy of that Canon; because I find no other Reason for its Omission therein, but that it was not then written when the Canon was made. Nor indeed shall I make any very great Distinction between these and the other Apostolical Fathers Writings,

not now in the Canon; because the Reason why they also were not in that Canon seems to me to be the same; viz. That they were not then written: And because their Authority is by all owned to be next to that of the Canonical Books themselves, and vastly superior to that of the Primitive Fathers who came afterwards. (2.) That in quoting the Epistles of *Ignatius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, I shall make use of the larger Epistles only, since I have fully prov'd that they are the genuine Epistles, and this hitherto without Reply; and so far, at least, to the satisfaction of the Learned, that have examin'd that Matter, that they seem to me commonly to allow, that if either sort of Epistles be genuine, the larger alone are to be allow'd for such. (3) As to the *Antenicene* Fathers, I properly except against none usually esteem'd Catholick by the Learned; and only have less value for *Tertullian* than for the rest, because He was certainly a *Montanist* Heretick; as I have already observ'd. (4) As to Matters of Fact, and second hand Quotations, I except only against one Person, who for very good Reasons, cannot be depended on in such Matters; I mean *Athanasius*. Only declaring that I allow him, as well as all party Men in the World, to be of the best Authority against themselves, and their own party of any others. (5) As to the Councils I shall except against none, that are not quite too late to be of much Value in such Matters. Accordingly I shall allow the Consideration of all the Councils, that were held either before, or within 36 Years after the Council of *Nice*: i. e. all in which the Original *Arian* Heresy could be concern'd. And I desire it may be observ'd, that there were then Assembled several Councils, which might justly be accounted *Great Councils*, and many that might justly be called *General*, how little account soever the Moderns make of them; and that I shall not Imitate the *Athanasians* and *Papists* in this Case, who call only those *General Councils* which

which are for the *Athanasians*, or Confirm'd by the *Pope*, but I shall, without any such partiality, distinguish the Councils held before A. D. 361 and which have any Records now extant, about these points, into three Ranks; the *small Councils* which ~~had~~ had much fewer than 100 Bishops: the *great Councils* which had at the least about an 100 Bishops: and the *general Councils* which had more than 150, and commonly no fewer than 200 or 300 or even 400 Bishops present. Accordingly of the 21 Councils before A. D. 361 I reckon 11 small Councils, 3 great Councils, and 7 general Councils, which I shall Appeal to in my future Defence. And indeed 'Tis a great shame, that the World should be so miserably impos'd upon, in this point, by the contrary procedure. To call one Council a *General Council* which had but 150 Bishops there, as the Case was of the second general Council, because it made for the Party that afterward prevail'd; while others of 200. 300. or even 400 Bishops are look'd on as *Councilabula*, *small and Trifling Assemblies*; and this meerly because they made against them; this is no better than a gross Cheat upon Mankind. The Councils I mean are the *small ones*; that of *Rome*, that of *Milan*, 4 of *Sirmium*, that of *Arles*, that of *Beziers* that of *Ancyra*, that of *Nice in Thrace*, and that of *Constantinople*, all in the 4th Century: The several *great Councils* I mean are three at *Antioch* in the same Century; and the *general Councils*, that of *Antioch* in the third, that of *Nice in Bithynia*, that of *Jerusalem*, that of *Sardica*, that of *Milan*, that of *Seleucia*, and that of *Ariminum*, in the fourth Century. (6) That I shall not concern my self with any later Councils, tho' they be called General, and tho' our Church after a sort admits them, even in the case of Heresy; not only because they were Comparatively so late, but for other particular Reasons also. The third or that of *Ephesus*, the fourth or that of *Chalcedon*, were concern'd with

with quite different Points: and these Articles themselves do not pretend that my Doctrine is contrary to either of those Councils. And for the second, or that of *Constantinople*, I meddle not with it in this Case, tho' my Doctrine be charg'd as contrary to its Decrees; not only on account of its being so small, as well as so late, but because its Records of this nature have nothing against me in particular: the only Record which may seem to affect me, I mean the Synodical Epistle, being most evidently not written by the general Council it self, but by a smaller number of Bishops, met in the same place about a Year afterwards; as I shall Demonstrate, if the Court will admit of it, by producing the Epistle it self from *Theodorit*. (7) We must in all ancient Testimonies accurately distinguish between Christian Philosophy, and Christian Faith; or between the private Opinions of some Philosophical Men in the Church, and what Doctrines they all along deliver'd down as coming from Christ, and his Apostles. (8) We must never look on any Opinions which can be trac'd no higher than the Philosophical Writers of the Church, to be sufficiently attested to, as sacred Doctrines of the Gospel. (9) Nor must we ground otherwise uncertain Doctrines on such Interpretations of texts of Scripture, as came in in the latter Times of the Church. (10) We must never Interpret away the Natural and obvious sense of any Texts of Scripture, or ancient Testimonies, by introducing Distinctions, and Evasions, which were never heard of till the later Ages, and that perhaps meerly to get clear of those Texts and Testimonies themselves. (11) We must have recourse to the Septuagint Translation, for the primitive Quotations made from the old Testament, and not to the Hebrew Text; because that Translation was the almost only Bible those Christians made use of, as is known to all the Learned. (12) When Philosophical

tal Phrases or Language are made use of by the Ancients, about their Notions in Christianity, they must be understood according to the meaning of such Phrases or Language then, and not according to their meaning in the later Ages of the Church. These Observations are generally so agreeable to common sense and Reason, that it would be an affront upon the Judgment of this Court, to go about more Laboriously to prove them. And what I shall add here therefore is this ; That As I shall endeavour to observe these Rules exactly in my future Defence, so shall I intirely expect that they be equally observed, by any that may either here, or elsewhere, make any Reply thereto. Which expectation cannot but be allow'd by all Impartial Persons, to be highly just and Reasonable in such a Case.

And now having premis'd what I thought proper, by way of Preliminaries. I am ready to Proceed to my Defence. But still before I come to the several Articles themselves, directly mention'd in this Accusation against me, I beg leave to clear my self of one general Charge, which lies at the bottom of this Prosecution, and which is perpetually insinuated into the minds of honest and well meaning, but injudicious and weak People, to my great disadvantage, and to the great disadvantage of that sacred cause I am engag'd in ; and that is the Imputation laid on me, and all such as ever attempt any Reformation in points of this Nature, that we all endeavour to be *Wise above what is written* ; that we do not submit our Understandings to the *Obedience of Faith* ; that we measure all by the bare light of Reason ; that we are not willing to believe any Mysteries in Religion, but set up Philosophy and Free Thinking, in Opposition to Faith, and Divine Revelation. That since the Trinity in Unity, or that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are three Persons and but one God, is the first and Principal of these Divine Mysteries,

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'tis the Object of Faith, but not of Reason ; and ought to be Believ'd, but not Disputed ; and that therefore what Arguments soever may be brought against it, 'tis Presumption and Profaneness to examine into it : and that accordingly Christians are not to hear me, or consider what I say, but to detest my Notions, if not to abhor and persecute my Person also on their Account. This you cannot but know to be the grand popular Topick against me ; and tho' neither the Convocation, nor this Court have properly laid this to my Charge, yet have many of the Pulpits even in this City sufficiently enforc'd it : as I my self, as well as many others, are Unquestionable Witnesses. In way of Reply to which Accusation, I mean so far as it concerns my self, I venture to affirm that it is utterly Groundless, and without the least Foundation in any of my Writings or Conduct. On the contrary I have ever intirely endeavour'd, to resign my Understanding to the Obedience of Faith ; I have made the Revealed Word of God the proper Standard of my Belief, in all such sacred Matters as these are : I have indeed made some Enquiries into natural Philosophy, into Astronomy, and the System of the World ; and am very glad to find that the glorious Works of God and his Holy Word do so well agree, and bear Witness to one another ; and I do own that what I know of the former has given me great satisfaction as to my belief of the latter. But then I never introduce Philosophy into the Doctrines or Mysteries of Christianity. On the contrary, I think no one ever took greater care that no Philosophical or Scholastick reasoning whatever should in the least sully my Mind, or byass my Notions, when I was enquiring into the Doctrines of Christ. I consider those Doctrines always as Historical facts, no way to be discovered but by ancient Testimonies and Records ; and accordingly I do no more pretend to tell by Reason and Philosophy,

phy, what our Saviour and his Apostles at first preach'd, than what Battles *Julius Caesar* fought, or what Laws the Romans made, about the same Centuries. I ever own and receive all those Doctrines, and Mysteries which I find our Blessed Lord has revealed to us, either by his own preaching, or by the preaching and Writings of his Apostles, and their first Companions, as Doctrines and Mysteries of Christianity. And if I do not own and receive the common Doctrine or Mystery of the Trinity, *as it has been of late understood* it is not properly because it is above my Reason, but because I certainly find that it never was matter of Divine Revelation; not strictly because it is not fully to be comprehended, but because it is unsupported by the Bible; not because it is a Mystery, and reveal'd as such; but because I discover no such Doctrine, no such Mystery to have been revealed at all among the genuine Records of the Gospel of Christ; because I find that, tho' there be such a Mystery now in the Church, 'tis like the Mystery of Transubstantiation, a New, a Humane, a Philosophical, or rather an Heretical Mystery, utterly unknown to the first Ages of Christianity; and one main branch of the later Antichristian Corruption, introduced by Philosophy and Tyranny in later Ages; as I shall have occasion to shew at large hereafter. And, as I am not ashamed to profess that I do believe several *Mysteries* in a strict Sense, i. e. things which I am not able fully to comprehend, or give a compleat account of, both in Philosophy and Divinity; because I have sufficient evidence of their truth and reality, either from Experiment or Divine Testimony; so do I as freely profess that I cannot discover this *Mystery of the Trinity*, either Name or Thing, in the Sacred Catholick Writers of more than three Centuries; but do account it to be truly an *Athanasian Mystery* and no more; and that it properly stands upon the Authority of *Athanasius* and that of his

his Followers, in the more ignorant Ages of the Church. Nor will their Authority at all move me, till I see it supported by some other and better Evidence than has yet appeared. And as to the Imputation of *Free-Thinking*, in the ill sense of that Word, now so current among us, I hope, those that have seriously perus'd my *Reflections* on that irreligious Pamphlet, which is called *A Discourse of Free-Thinking*, and has made such a noise of late, which I here deliver into the Court, to say nothing of many of my other Writings relating to the same Subject, will be ashamed hereafter to lay against me such an odious and groundless imputation. But to leave this preliminary Vindication, and to come directly to the present Accusation of Heresy; I shall now proceed to Vindicate my self all along in a regular course, Article by Article, as Dr. *Pelling* has charged them upon me, and this Court has admitted of the same.

In the beginning of these Articles, and by way of a general charge, I am accus'd for 'Declaring that the *Arian* Doctrine concerning the Trinity and Incarnation, is the Doctrine of our Blessed Saviour, his Apostles, and the first Christians; and do very scandalously insinuate that all who have considered these Matters, want nothing but the Honesty and the Courage, to own themselves of the same Opinion. Now in Answer to the latter part of this Accusation, I desire to have some place in my Books particularly specified where I make such a Scandalous Insinuation, as is here affirm'd of me. I do not deny that I have several times Insinuated, That if all the really Learned and Judicious, would tell the World their Minds, or the result of their Examination as to these Matters, with the same openness and sincerity that I have done, it would most plainly appear that the *Athanasian* Doctrine, is not so Universally believ'd as it is profess'd: which I know
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to be most certainly true. But that ever I have insinuated what is here charg'd upon me, I utterly deny ; nay indeed I am not a little confident that if I had done it, the particular place of my Papers, would have been cited to justify this part of the Charge, as there is in the other Parts ; which yet is not done. But then, as to the former part of this Charge, that concerning *Arianism*, I own it is in effect my own Words: But then I must still grievously complain of the partiality and unfairness of this Accusation notwithstanding. For as the Words lie here, every body by the *Arian Doctrine* will readily understand the real Doctrine and Language of *Arius*, the *Arian Heresy* it self, as it was Condemned at the Council of *Nice* ; and will easily suppose that I have affirm'd that that Doctrine of *Arius*, that *Arian Heresy* it self was the Doctrine of our Blessed Savior, his Apostles, and of the first Christians : whereas I never did nor do affirm any such thing ; never did nor do approve of those Doctrines or Language. And for the truth of this Answer, I shall first refer this Court to the very same Paper whence my words here are drawn ; I mean my Historical Preface, in which, at the very second page, I had distinctly explain'd my self as to what I always meant by the *Arians*, and by the *Arian Doctrine* ; viz. ' that by the *Arians*, I meant still that ' part of the Church which was called *Arian* in the ' fourth Century, and not *Arius* himself only, with ' a few of his particular followers : and by the *Arian ' Doctrine*, the Doctrine of that part of the Church, ' and no other. i. e. I used the very common but very improper name of *Arians*, instead of the much more proper, but very uncommon name of *Eusebians* ; as I have most fully since explain'd my self upon several Occasions. And that this Court may be intirely satisfiyed in the sincerity of my Procedure, as to this point, all along, I farther Appeal to the several

ral Articles of the Primitive Faith, which I have published, as all the *Arianism* that I embrace ; and insist that every one of those Articles are the *Eusebian* Doctrine, but not one of them the peculiar Doctrine or Language of *Arius* and his followers ; not one of them parts of that *Arian Heresy* it self, which was condemned by the Council of *Nice* : as I shall all the way shew in my future Defence. Nay, I further appeal to the very first Reply to Dr. *Alix* ; whence part of these Articles are also taken, where-

in I expressly answer a like Imputation
 p. 10. 11. then laid upon me by Dr. *Alix* : I appeal particularly also, as I do there, to that Letter which I had a little before written to the Convocation, by his Grace the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, inserted in the Appendix, and in great part upon this very Subject ; which Letter therefore I beg leave to read intirely before the Court, in order to my compleat Vindication upon this Head.

*A Letter to the most Reverend Thomas
 Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, President of the Convocation.*

Lond. Apr. 5. 1711.

May it please your Grace,

SINCE I perceive that my *Historical Preface* has given Offence, not only to several Good Men in particular, but to the Body of the Convocation in general and to many others who are really desirous that Truth and Primitive Christianity may prevail ; and that not only on Account of the *Manner* of my Writing, which seems to be with

too great Confidence and Assurance ; but also because it looks like reviving the very *Heresy of Arius* himself, as it was condemned by the Council of *Nice* : The great Regard I have to the Peace of the Church, and my sincere Desire to approve my self to my Superiors in it, have made me think it might be very proper to Address my self to your Grace, as President of the Convocation, upon this Occasion ; to lay before you my sincere Thoughts, as to these Matters, with the utmost Humility and Deference, that I may not be esteem'd so perverse and obstinate, as not to own any Indecencies I may have been guilty of ; and that I may not be charg'd with what never was in my Thoughts or Designs, with Regard to the Revival of the *Arian Heresy* : And at the same time to beg of your Grace to use your Endeavour that the Things I propose may not any way suffer on account of any Rashness in the way of my proposing them. For as to the *Manner* of my Writing upon these Subjects, it is, I confess, too agreeable to the Warmth and Vehemence of my natural Temper, increas'd by an hearty, and I am sure an honest Zeal for what things soever at any time appear to me to be true, and of Importance in Christianity. I hope God, who knows the inmost Recesses of my Soul, will not impute all that appears to be rash and assuming, to such a proud and conceited Temper as it may seem to others to proceed from : And that he will mercifully forgive any Offences of that Nature, where he finds the Heart in the main sincere and upright ; and honestly labouring, to the best of its Knowledge, to promote Truth and Piety in the world. And as I earnestly wish that the uncorrupt Faith and Practice of the Gospel in every Part may prevail among us, so do I heartily desire that I may not be found Guilty of breaking any of the Rules of Christian Meekness, Humility, Modesty, and Deference to lawful Authority, while I

am aiming to promote, to the best of my Judgment and Ability, the Purity of Christ's Religion among Men. And I must own to your Grace that I am, upon Reflection, sensible that in several Expressions, and in many Circumstances of my Management, I have not always kept within those strict Rules of the Gospel, which the Meekness and Gentleness of Christ and his Religion requires in such Cases? and that therefore I may sometimes have given Occasion of Offence to my Christian Brethren, and to those in Authority in particular: For which Faults, wherever they have appear'd, either by Word or Writing, as I do heartily beg Forgiveness of God and of good Men, so do I faithfully promise that I will be more careful not to be Guilty of the same hereafter. Humbly desiring that my speaking plainly what I judge to be Truth, may not be esteem'd just Cause of Offence; that I be allow'd with a decent Freedom to produce all the proper Arguments and Testimonies for what I propose; and that I be permitted modestly to declare what Degree of Evidence I think I have for what I assert. As to the Imputation of *Arianism*, which I confess I have not been sufficiently careful to avoid, I do declare it never was my Intention to assert the *Arian Heresy*, strictly so called; or to revive the *Heresy* of *Arius*, and of his peculiar Followers, as it was condemn'd at the Council of *Nice*. I guarded against this expressly in my *Historical Preface*, p. 2. by a particular Declaration, that by that *Arianism* which I speak of, I ever mean the Doctrine of that Part of the Church which was call'd *Arian* in the Fourth Century; and not the Doctrine of *Arius* himself only, with a few of his particular Followers. And this Distinction is so plain in all my Papers, that whereas I every where own the Doctrine of that Part of the Church in the Fourth Century, which their Adversaries would call by the odious Name of *Arian*, yet do not I in any

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Proposition assert those Particular Novel Doctrines, or use the like Particular Novel Expressions of *Arius* himself, which were condemned at the Council of *Nice*; but ever confine my self to the much Ancien-ter and more Authentick Doctrines and Language of the Scripture and the most Primitive Writers: And I take leave to observe here a few Things farther; That the main Body of those whom their Adversaries call'd *Arians* in the Fourth Century, were themselves so far from justifying any of those Rash and Novel Assertions and Expressions of *Arius*, which caus'd the Disturbances in the Church at that time, and were condemn'd at the Council of *Nice*, that they did not approve of them, or insert them into their Creeds; nay, did not themselves publickly admit *Arius* and his Followers into the Church again, till he gave in a Creed without the least Syllable of them; as is evident in the History of that Age. In reality, I think no one ought to be at all led by any particular Men, but to take their Christian Faith and Practice from those most Sacred and Primitive Writers, which liv'd long before the Rise of the Controversies in the Fourth Century; as I have endeavour'd to do in my *Account of the Primitive Faith* of Christians. I take this Opportunity also to beg of your Grace, if you shall think fit, to recommend the serious Consideration of my Papers to the Convocation, or to a committee of Learned Men this Summer; that so all may proceed with that Fairness, and sincere Regard to Truth and Christianity, which becomes the Ministers of Christ Jesus. If once this Matter be brought to that Method of Proceeding, I shall exceedingly rejoyce, and be ready, whenever I shall be requir'd, to lay all my Papers before them for their Consideration, and to correct any Mistakes in them, or retract any Opinions I have advanc'd, that upon due Examination shall appear not to be

well grounded. I beg your Grace's Pardon and Blessing, and subscribe my self, with all Submission,

Your most Humble and Obedient Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

It is therefore, I think, most evident, that this preliminary Accusation, as if I were for the real *Arian Heresy*, and so were propagating *Arianism* it self in the World, is utterly false and groundless. Nay, indeed, My Lords, I think I have great reason to complain of very hard Measure in the very admission of such an Accusation by this Court, as if I were really an *Arian*, and were to be tryed as such. Such reproaches as these in common Discourse, in private Letters, or in the heat of Dispute, tho' not well grounded, may be born with; but sure 'tis utterly beneath the dignity of a Court of Justice; of an Ecclesiastical Court of Justice, of a Supreme Ecclesiastical Court of Justice acting without Appeal, to lend any ear to an Imputation so utterly false, to an Accusation so wholly unjust as this is, while instead of the real and proper Doctrines of *Arius*, the proper *Arian Heresy* in general; not One single branch of the *Arian Doctrines*, not one direct part of the *Arian Heresy* is so much as charged upon me in any of these Articles. So far from it, that these Articles were almost every one the plain Doctrines of the Christian Church till after the days of *Arius*, of the *Eusebians* in particular, who never followed *Arius*; nay, of the Council of *Nice* itself, and other Councils of the Church, at the very same time that they Condemned *Arius*, and Anathematiz'd the *Arian Heresy*; as I have already demonstrated to all the World, and shall more fully demonstrate in the course of this my Vindication before you.

No,

No, I am no *Arian*, but a *Christian*: I aim to follow not *Arius*, but Christ Jesus with his Apostles, and them alone in all the revealed Christian Doctrines I believe, and in all the revealed Christian Laws I obey, so far as I am able to understand them. And after I have made this Declaration, give me leave to make another of the like nature; that I am no *Athanasian* neither, but a *Christian* and that I aim to follow not *Athanasius*, but Christ Jesus with his Apostles, and them alone, in all these matters. Nay, I shall take leave to declare further, that I am no *Nicean*, *Constantinopolitan*, *Ephesian*, nor *Chalcedonian* neither, but a *Christian*; and that I cannot be truly brought under any such denomination whatsoever. I mean, that I follow even the four General Councils themselves, the Council of *Nice*, of *Constantinople*, of *Ephesus*, or of *Chalcedon*; or indeed any other Synods, or later Authorities whatsoever no farther than upon the best enquiries I perceive they were themselves Christians, or the followers of Christ, of his Apostles, and of them only, in such great Points of Divine Revelation. For tho' I pay a great respect to the most primitive Records of Christian Antiquity, and to the Decrees of the earliest Councils of the Church; yet is all this as they are great means and helps in order to the discovering and tracing down the original Doctrines and Laws of Christ, and not as they are themselves original Standards. Accordingly, while they confirm or do not oppose the Doctrines and Laws of the Gospel, I am most willing to acquiesce in their Notions, and value their Determinations; but when I once plainly find they leave them, and set up opposite Notions or Decrees of their own, I have no value for them any longer: as having learn'd from St. Paul, *Gal. i. 8, 9.* that if an *Apostle*, or an *Angel from Heaven* should preach otherwise than Christ at first delivered to his Church, he is to be so far from being Receiv'd, that he is to be *Accursed*,

WOT

The first distinct Article of Heresy I am charged withal is in these Words, — p. 4.

“ When the Scriptures speak of One God, they
 “ mean thereby One Supreme God the Father on-
 “ ly, as in the said Historical Preface, Page 81.
 “ *Referendo, &c.*

“ The Moderns call'd these Three Divine Per-
 “ sons, but one God, and so introduced at least a
 “ New and Unscriptural and Inaccurate, if not
 “ false way of speaking, into the Church— Er-
 “ rata, Page 123, Line 23, 24. To whom with
 “ the Father *and* the Holy Ghost, read *In* the Ho-
 “ ly Ghost, and *dele* Three Persons and one God,
 “ &c. in the said Historical Preface, Page 82. *Re-*
 “ *ferendo, &c.*

“ These I allow to be my own Words, and to be
 “ agreeable to my own not uncertain Opinion,
 “ but certain Faith. I was once, as the World
 “ will see by the occasion of the latter *Erratum*, in
 “ the common Opinion, That the Father, Son, and
 “ Holy Ghost, the Three Divine Powers, [Persons]
 “ were truly in some Sense, One God, or the One
 “ God of the Christian Religion; that is, before I
 “ particularly examin'd that Matter in the Scrip-
 “ tures, and the most Primitive Writers: but since
 “ I have thoroughly Inquired into it, I am so fully
 “ satisfied that the Father alone is the One God of
 “ the Christian Religion, that I must now own,
 “ that when once I deny or doubt of that Do-
 “ ctrine, I must deny or doubt of our common
 “ Christianity: There being no one Article more
 “ plain, or more universally acknowledg'd in all
 “ the first Ages of the Church than that was: As in
 “ the said Historical Preface, Page 81, *Referendo, &c.*

Now

Now after what manner I am to Answer this as an *Accusation of Heresy* before a Christian Court, (for such a Court I hope you still own your selves to be,) I am greatly to seek. For were it not impossible to disbelieve the evidence of Sense, and to doubt of what I see with my own Eyes, I should be here under the strongest temptation of disbelieving that this is any part of my *Accusation*. And the Reason is plain, that if there be any one Proposition certain in Natural Religion, in the Patriarchal Religion, in the Jewish and Christian Religions, it is this; that there is but *One only God, One supreme Origin and Governour of all things*; and if there be any one other Proposition certain in the Christian Religion, it is this, which is here it seems esteem'd Heretical; I mean, that this *One only God, One only Supreme Origin and Governor of all things, is no other than the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*. This I own as the primary foundation of our Religion, and assert that it was always of old allowed as the grand Article which the Catechumens were ever first taught from the Rule of Faith; which the Scriptures every where declare; which the most primitive Catholick Writers perpetually inculcate; and all the first Councils of the Church, without exception, do unanimously agree to; and which our Church in her *Nicene Creed*, and in her Collect for the 18th Sunday after Trinity, does still acknowledge at this Day. So that to lay this as a Charge against me for Heresy is not at all better than if that Charge had been for asserting the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead, or any other of the most fundamental in the whole Christian Religion. Nay, indeed I do not know that there are so many, and so express Texts and Testimonies for this latter as for that former Article of our Religion. And I take leave

to say, that when once this or any Church does openly condemn this Doctrine as Heretical they thereby become so far Heretical themselves; and do thereby so far themselves forfeit all just pretences, in a strict sense, to Christianity. I shall therefore take leave to be very full and particular in my proofs for the truth of this Article; not only in order to my intire Vindication; but in order to do my utmost to recover this fundamental Doctrine of the Christian Religion among us; which is I perceive in great danger of being lost by the Modern Churches, and even by our own Church itself. And here I shall be mindful of the Promise I formerly made in my Reply to Dr. Sacheverell's Accusations *Hist. Pref. of Blasphemy, Irreligion, and Heresy, at p. 82.* his Tryal, and in my Letter to him long afterwards, in these words: "I here venture solemnly to challenge Dr. Sacheverell himself, and all his more Learned Friends, to produce one single direct Testimony of any Christian and Catholick Writer who said the *Three Persons were One God, or The One God*, before the days of *Athanasius*, in the fourth Century; while I am ready to produce above an hundred plain Testimonies on the other side, that this *One God* is no other than *God the Father*." And accordingly I intend fully to make good before this Court, what I have had no such publick opportunity of doing hitherto, I mean to produce those more than a hundred plain Testimonies on my side, that the *One God* is only *God the Father*; and to beg of Dr. Pelling, that, in the behalf of Dr. Sacheverell, and in order to make good his own present Accusation, he will please to produce One single plain Catholick Testimony on the other side. I mean, that 'tis not *God the Father* alone, but the *Three Divine Persons*, collectively taken, *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, that are *One God, or The One God* of the Christian Religion. Only desiring you all to take notice

notice, that I do not by this Assertion at all deny the real Divinity of our Saviour in its original and truly Christian Sense, which I have elsewhere openly acknowledged, clearly explain'd, and fully prov'd, I mean under the IVth Article of my fourth Volume: As also that I do here only assert, that the Father is the One and Only God, in *real distinction from*, but not in proper opposition to our Saviour Christ; since I have elsewhere openly acknowledged, clearly explained, and fully proved that Unity, Sub-ordination, and Ministerial Efficiency which the Son ever has with and under his Father; I mean in several other Articles of the same Book: Which also not a few of the Passages themselves will shew all along.

I shall therefore largely make out this fundamental Doctrine of the Christian Religion; (1.) From all the Ancient Creeds. (2.) From the Books of the New Testament. (3.) From the Ante-Nicene Fathers. (4.) From the first Councils of the Church; and shall then Answer the most material Objections which are made against it.

I. I prove that God by way of Eminence, or with the highest Epithets, the *One and only God* of the Christian Religion, is no other than the *Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*, from the *Rule of Faith* itself, or from all the *ancient Creeds*: A Scheme of which I here deliver into Court, in English: being ready also to produce every one of them in their Originals. They are in number 22, and every one earlier than that now called the Apostles Creed, and are indeed, all but the last, so full and clear, and express in this Doctrine, and that as fundamental, nay, the first foundation of the whole Christian Religion, that one would have thought it must have been impossible that this of all the other Articles of Faith should ever have been doubted of, much more impossible, that it should ever have been deny'd; and most of all impossible that it should ever be esteem'd Heretical by any that call themselves
 Chri-

Christians. Hear their own Words : [See *Table of the Ancient Creeds, Article I.* throughout.] Now, that the Father is confessed here the *One and only God* of the Christian Religion, in *distinction from*, tho' not in *opposition to* the Son of God, is very plain in the two following Articles ; which as they exactly distinguish the Son from the *One and Only God his Father*, from whom originally all things are deriv'd, and by whom originally all things are Governed, so do not they oppose him to him ; but allow that he was the Father's immediate Minister, and that by him, as his active Instrument, *all Things were made, Visible and Invisible* ; and that he accordingly, in unity with, and subordination to the Father governs them all, as their God, and their Lord, and their King, till the Consummation of all things. And I desire that one Circumstance may here be particularly noted, which is exceeding remarkable, *viz.* That the *Athanasians* themselves, even till towards the end of the fourth Century, and this after they had come into many new Notions, not very consistent with that before us, had not yet boldness enough to alter the Primitive Form in this Article ; but did still freely allow that the Father alone was the *One God* of the Christian Religion, and that in real distinction from the Son also ; while it was reserved to later and worse Ages to make so bold an alteration in the Rule of Faith itself, as has been since done in the *Roman* and *Aquileian* Creeds, which made way for that now called the *Apostles Creed*, which omits the Word *One* in the first Article, and professes only to Believe *in God the Father, Almighty* ; instead of believing *in One God, the Father, Almighty*, contrary to all the ancient Creeds now extant in the World ; unless we except that of the known Heretick *Marcellus* in the same fourth Century : which is here omitted, as of no Authority at all. Nor can I but mention this gross omission in our ordinary Creed ; since it seems to have been one great occasion

occasion of imposing on the Body of Christian People in this important Matter ; while they easily suppose, that by Believing in *God, the Father Almighty*, they are only taught to believe, that the Father, in common with the Son and Holy Ghost, is the Almighty God ; nay, while I fear they by Custom come to use the very *Nicene Form, I believe in One God the Father Almighty*, in some such Sense also : As if there were indeed but One God the Father, but might be another God the Son, and another God the Holy Ghost ; as they are usually taught to express themselves from their Childhood. I do not say the Learned are to be thus imposed upon ; but that the Vulgar and Unlearned frequently are I do verily believe. Nor is it improper therefore to note here on their account, that the words *One God the Father Almighty*, are not in the Creed to be joyn'd together, and taken as if they allowed any other God besides him who is the *Father, and Almighty*, but that they mean plainly that there is but One God ; and that he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the supreme Governor of all things : As also, that any such Phrases as *God the Son*, or *God the Holy Ghost*, are utterly strangers to Scripture and Antiquity ; and in particular have no manner of footing in the Original Rule of Faith, or in any of the ancient Creeds. Which last Observation will highly deserve every one's Consideration.

II. I prove that *God* by way of Eminence, and with the highest Epithets, the *One and Only God* of the Christian Religion, is no other than the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from the *Canonical Sacred Books of the New Testament*. These Sacred Books are so clearly and fully for the same Doctrine with those Creeds, and are usually esteemed, as to the greatest part of them, of so much superior Authority to them, that I must take leave to be here very full and particular also, in order to demonstrate the same Truth.

See Vol. IV. p. 3.—29. III. I

III. I prove that God, by way of eminence, and with the highest Epithets, *the One and Only God* of the Christian Religion, is no other than *The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*, from the *Primitive Catholick Writers* and Fragments still extant before the Council of *Nice*. And tho' the evidence from these *Primitive Fathers*, is not properly equivalent either to that of the *Ancient Creeds*, or that of the *Holy Scripture*, yet where they *Universally* agree with them, both in their several *Ages*, and in their several *Countries*; and where they deliver the same *Doctrines* with them as every where allow'd, and unquestionable among *Christians* then, and as deliver'd down all along from the *Apostles of Christ*, which we shall see is the case here, their joint and united *Testimonies* cannot but add vast weight to the former evidence; and will serve still more and more to render it *intirely* satisfactory to all *Christians* of this Day. See Vol IV. p. 301. — 53.

IV. I prove that God, by way of Eminence, and with the highest Epithets, *the One and Only God* of the Christian Religion, is no other than the *Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*, from the *first Councils of the Christian Church*, especially those that were most numerous and general. Of these Councils, as I have already noted, we have some authentic Records or Accounts, of no fewer than 21 by A. D. 361 which relate to these points; and I venture to affirm that it thereby appears, that the very same Doctrine on this head, which we have already seen, was the known uncontested Doctrine of the *Ancient Creeds*, of the *Holy Scriptures*, and of the *Anti-Nicene Fathers*; was also the known and uncontested Doctrine, of all these *first Christian Councils* also. Some of which Records I shall here take the liberty to Produce here for my farther Vindication. See Collect. of *Monum. paffim*.
So far, you see, the *Original Records* of our Religion, do directly and expressly bear witness to the *Fundamental*, and *first Doctrine* of the *Christian Religion*.

on, that *God*, by way of Eminence, and with the highest Epithets, *the One and Only God* of the Christian Religion, is no other than the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; in opposition to the *Athanasian* Doctrine, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, taken jointly, are that *One and Only God*. It will be now proper to shew the same conclusion another way, I mean by proving that the *Supreme Christian Worship* was all along, the first Ages accordingly directed; not jointly to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as to the one Supreme God, but only to God the Father; and that through the Mediation of the Son; not as with him the One God, but as his Son and an Intercessor with him: as the following numerous and plain Texts of Holy Scripture, and Testimonies of Antiquity will most clearly Demonstrate. See Article II. p. 54—76.

And now, because I am under this Article accus'd for altering the *Doxology*, from the usual form of giving Glory *to the Holy Ghost*, with the Father and Son; into this other Form of giving Glory *to the Father*, by the Son, or to the Father and the Son, but still in the Holy Ghost, or by his assistance only; I shall here Vindicate my self from this imputation of Heresy; and that by producing the sacred and Primitive *Doxologies* themselves, even as low as the Days of *Athanasius*, for my Vindication; and by demonstrating thereby the uncertainty and probable novelty of the common, and the undoubted Antiquity and Authority of that ancient Form; the Restoration of which I so earnestly plead for. Nor are there I think, many other so plain and visible demonstrations of that vast Change, which the *Athanasian* Doctrine made in the Christian Religion as this, which we have now before us; I mean that when the *Athanasians* had alter'd the form of the original and undoubted *Doxology*, *In the Holy Ghost*, and made it *To the Holy Ghost*, they soon pretended, even while the Original form was

own'd, most certainly sacred and unquestionable, to lay a blot upon the same form, as obliquely *Arian* and *Heretical* : which we shall see anon was the very case of the *Orthodox*, as they affected to call themselves, even in the fourth and fifth Centuries of the Church; and which appears by the Accusation to be the case of the present *Ashanasians*, or *Orthodox* at this day among us. So fatal and pernicious a thing it is once to forsake the sure guidance of Scripture and Antiquity, and to give up our selves to the uncertain conduct of human inventions, and ~~various~~ reasonings in divine matters ! I proceed to my Testimonies. [See Vol. IV. Appendix.]

And now, before I come to Answer Objections, give me leave to inform this Court, of what once pass'd between one of of the greatest, most Learned, and judicious Persons now in this Church, and my self, upon this very Head; because it deserves the most careful consideration. This Person then, whom I have not permission to name, having perused my fourth Volume in M S. confessed to me, that I had indeed proved therein, that if we judge by all the present remains of Antiquity, the Holy Spirit was not called *God* by the ancient Christians, and that he was not *Invoked* by them : and particularly that it appear'd by my Testimonies, and *Basil's* own large account, that the form of the Primitive, and most undoubted Doxology was that I am here accus'd of Heresy for; viz. *In the Holy Ghost* : But that still be thought, *Basil* had given good Reasons why we might venture farther in those matters, so far at least, as if not to call the Holy Spirit *God*, and to *Invocate* him, Yet to give Glory To him directly in those *Doxologies*. To whom I remember, I made this Answer : Had some other of even the most Learned Men of the *Orthodox* affirm'd this, I could have supposed that they believ'd themselves ; because I take them to have much less judgment than Learning : but God has given you, Sir, too great abilities

' lities to believe that any Party of Men can alter the
 ' real Laws and Practices deriv'd from Christ and his
 ' Apostles, in such sacred matters of Divine Wor-
 ' ship, and then give good reasons why they altered
 ' them. To which that Person did not, that I re-
 member, make me any farther Reply: which yet I
 profess I greatly want, before I dare venture to fol-
 low any such dangerous *Athanasian* Innovations in these
 sacred Matters of Religion. I now proceed to Answer
 an Objection or two against what I have here said.

An Objection or two only, I say: For this Do-
 ctrine is so plain in it self, and so fully attested to by
 all the old Christian Records, that there is hardly
 room for any Objection against it at all. However,
 because the *Athanasians* do alledge two things that
 seem at first to contradict this Doctrine, that God by
 way of eminence, and with the highest Epithets, the
 One and Only God of the Christian Religion, is no o-
 ther than the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I shall
 here plainly produce those Objections, and then as
 plainly produce my Answer to them.

(1.) Then it is said, that if the Father be the One
 and Only God of the Christian Religion, and that in
 real distinction from the Son, this will take away that
 other Christian Doctrine, which I my self elsewhere
 allow, concerning the Divinity of our Saviour. For
 if the Son be God, as well as the Father, and be real-
 ly distinct from the Father, then is not the Father the
 One and Only God. Now this common Objection,
 which we first meet with from the old Hereticks, shall
 be answered not by my self, but by some of the an-
 cient Catholick Writers themselves; who tho' they most
 plainly asserted the Divinity of the Son, did yet at
 the same time as plainly assert, that the Father, in
 distinction from the Son, was the One and Only God
 of the Christian Religion. And I beg that this Court
 will please to attend to what these ancient Writers say
 upon this Head, that they may not be byalld against
 the

the first and most fundamental Doctrine of the Christian Religion, from an Objection taken from some of the old Hereticks themselves, and fully reply'd to by the ancient Catholicks in the first Ages of the Gospel. Hear therefore how the Apostolical Constitutions, *Ignatius*, the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity ascrib'd to *Novatian*, The first Council of *Antioch*, and the great *Eusebius* himself, one that join'd in the Condemnation of the *Arians* at the Council of *Nice*, deliver themselves upon this occasion. See Vol IV. p. 90 — 93. *Collect. of Monum* p. 12 — 16 Vol IV. p. 223 — 227.

(2.) It is said that the Son must be one God with the Father, and so the Father in real distinction from the Son, cannot be the One and Only God of the Christian Religion, because That Divine Person so often spoken of and appearing under the Old Testament, as *Jehovah*, the God of *Israel*, the one Lord and God of the World, and he who was alone to be Worshipped and adored under peril of Idolatry, is frequently in the New Testament said to be our Saviour Christ; and the incommunicable Name and Character of that supreme God of *Israel* and of the World, are there spoken of as belonging to the Son; who must therefore be the very same Being, and the very same God with the Father; and by consequence the Father, in real distinction from the Son, cannot be the One and only God of the Christian Religion. This is, I think, the full force of this second Objection; and indeed contains the main strength of the *Arian* Cause in this whole Controversy. Now to come to my Reply, I say plainly, that had we been left to our own Reasoning here, and had no farther Light afforded us than what these modern Objectors usually own; Had not the ancient Records of our Religion, given us a distinct and plain account of this Difficulty, and that as the very account that Christ and his Apostles deliver'd themselves, We might not perhaps have been

been able upon the comparison, fully to reconcile the Testimonies of the Old Testament and their Application in the New together. Tho' even in that case it would have been very rash and unjustifiable, to draw such wild consequences from such a comparison as the *Athanasians* now do. But when this whole matter is so fully discoursed on, and clear'd in the ancient Records of our Religion; and that with so great unanimity, that 'tis hard to produce one dissenting Person among the Primitive Fathers; and when the foundation of this Reconciliation is so directly trac'd into the New Testament, and the other Apostolical Writings themselves, as deliver'd by Christ and his Apostles to their first Followers, for the real truth of the Case, 'Tis strange how those Learned Christians, who are conversant with the Books of the New Testament, and the other antient Monuments of Christianity, should reason so oddly and absurdly in this point. The difficulty here not arising from want of Light, or from want of Direction, but from Mens own ignorance, or obstinacy in not making use of them. And the reason of that ignorance or obstinacy is but two plain, viz. that the true original Account of this Matter, which has from the beginning been delivered down in the Church of Christ, and was indeed own'd by the very original *Athanasians* themselves, would not serve the purpose of the modern *Athanasians*; and was therefore to be conceal'd from the World, as much as possible. I shall therefore, as before, beg leave to Answer this Objection, not in my own Words, but in those of the first Christians, as they stand in my own fourth Volume; with Bishop *Bulls* remarkable concessions than which clearer need not be desir'd upon this Occasion. See Vol IV. Article xiii. p. 238.—241. and 247.—261.

Thus far of my Defence I had prepar'd long since, and intendeed to have gone on in the same distinct way, through the whole number of the Articles.

I

But

But since I suppose this Court will not venture to proceed any farther in this Cause, I shall not now draw up a distinct Answer to the rest of the Articles; but only refer the Reader, as indeed I have for the main hitherto done, to such places in my Books already Published, where he will find a sufficient Vindication of every one of them. Only desiring him to observe, that whereas I had there frequently confin'd my self to the two first Centuries; I intended here, if occasion should require, to have added the Testimonies of the third, and former part of the fourth Century, and those very many in number, and very remarkable in clearness, for my farther Justification also. *Article III. and V. See Vol. IV. Artic. VIII, IX. X. XI. XII. p. 172—227.*

Artic. IV. See Vol. IV. Artic. VI. p. 112—159, and Observations on Dr. Clarke p. 7—25.

Artic. VI. and VII. and VIII. and X. See Vol. IV. Artic. XIX, XX p. 334—373.

Artic. IX. See Vol. IV. Appendix, ut prius.

Artic. XI. See Vol. IV. Lem. and Artic. XV. p. 262, —296. and Athanasius, of the Incarnation. Collect of Monum. p. 20—76.

Artic. XII. See Vol. IV. Artic. XVI. p. 297—321. And for all the 12 Articles See the Vindication of the Council of Nice per. tot.

For the Additional Article. See Vol. III. per. tot.

However, because my Observations on Dr. Clarke have come into comparatively few Hands, I shall here reprint those most eminent Testimonies contain'd therein; belonging to the fourth Article; Where I Observe.

V. That tho' Dr. Clarke does not properly assert out (d) Saviour's Eternity or Coeternity with the Father, yet is he unwilling directly to disown it. Now here I cannot but note several things as to this important Matter; (1.) That absolute Eternity is one of the known, proper, peculiar Characters of the one un-

originated Being, and of no other ; as the Voice of Nature proclaims, and all our old Testimonies confirm. Especially when it appears ; (2) That there is not one direct Proof of any such thing in all the sacred Publick Books of our Religion ; much less in the old Creeds, or Apostolical Constitutions ; nor indeed any pretence for it in any Writer till Philosophy prevail'd in the Church ; (3 .) That after Philosophy prevail'd, it was never fully asserted by any one Catholick in more than three hundred Years ; (for the use of *Aeternus* by the (1) Author of the Recognitions, and by *Irenaus* ; as well as of *ἀίδιον* by *Clement of Alexandria*, are far from such a full Assertion ; since 'tis plain, that the first and third of them own'd him a *Created Being* notwithstanding, whatever the second did ; and I believe they never thought then of an *Eternal Creature*.) (4 .) All the Handle that was taken to doubt about it seems to have been this, that the Original Books had not exprelly told us *how long before* the beginning of the Mosaick Creation Christ was begotten, or created, by the Father ; and that they usually do but mention his *Existence* at or before the *beginning* of the Mosaick Creation. As to which Argument I say, that if it be taken universally, 'tis utterly false ; Christ's *Generation* and *Creation* being by (f) *Solomon* in the LXXII, fixt to the *very beginning*, by the same Words that the first verse of *Genesis* fixes the Creation of the Heaven and Earth to the same time ; and that if the Observation were true universally, thereby we might suppose Angels and the other Invisible Creatures, the exact time of whose Production is never set down, to be *Eternal* or *Co-eternal* also. (5) The obvious natural meaning of the two undoubted Words made use of originally in this matter, I mean that Christ was *begotten* and that He

(e) See Account of the Primitive Faith *Artis. V. 8. Recognit. L. I. §. 24. p. 492. §. 43. p. 497.*

(f) Prov. VIII. 23.

was *created* by the Father, does directly contradict this proper Eternity : It being as certain that Children, which are *begotten*, cannot be coeval with their Parents ; as it is, that Clocks or Watches, which are *made*, cannot be coeval with their Makers ; except it be possible to conceive an *Eternal Creation*, or a *Creature Co-eternal to its Creator*. Which Notion, though wholly unknown among the old Christians, yet from some Expressions in Dr. Clarke's Books, do I suspect he may think not to be impossible. As for my self, I own that, as far as I can observe, both those Words, *Generation* and *Creation* were ever used originally in direct Opposition to the notion of proper Eternity. (6) Both the Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles, give us an Account of one of the (g) Ancient Heresies, part of whose heretical Doctrine was this, That there were Three Beings *co-eternal* to one another. Which makes it utterly impossible for me to come into any such notion. (7.) When in the latter part of the Second Century we find the first Traces of somewhat like this Eternity, 'tis plainly what I call a *Metaphysick*, and not *real* Eternity, which was aimed at ; 'tis suppos'd *prior* to Christ's real Generation and Creation, and not *posterior* thereto ; and this evidently appears to have been the Philosophick Notion at the Council of *Nice* it self ; all which I have fully shewn (h) elsewhere. (8.) Those Authors that said our Saviour was *always* with the Father, and that the Father was *always* a Father, and so have to some seem'd to imply the Sons real Eternity, used that Word *always* as a Word of *Time*, which began with the World ; and not of that *Duration* which was before it ; and have by other Words plainly shewed, that they did not believe that real Eternity. Thus the most antient Author of the (i) *Recognitions*, who

(g) *Const. L. VI. c. 8. p. 336. c. 10. p. 339. Can XLIX.*

(h) Account of the Primitive Faith. *Artic. VI.*

(i) *L. I. S. 24. p. 492, S. 52. p. 498.*

first uses that Language, is express, that *Time* began with the World ; and is by all own'd to be against any such Notion of Coeternity. Thus also *Novatian* who uses it, is express, (k) that the Father was *before* the Son ; and this as a necessary consequence from his being his Father : Which was also the almost universal Doctrine of the East (l) at the Council of *Nice*. Nor do I perceive such Authors as these to have had any notion of a real Co-eternity of our Saviour, prior to the Creation, by any of their Expressions of this nature ; but a metaphysical notion rather about that Duration, which was before all Creatures, and before all Time ; as if it were not to be reckon'd, or were quite incomprehensible by us ; contrary to our modern Philosophy in that matter : Which thing supposed, all their Expressions are very accountable ; and, I think, are so upon no other Hypothesis whatsoever. *Irenaeus* indeed uses such Words without any express Evidence that he disown'd the real Eternity ; tho', as he never directly asserts it in other Words, so does he rather intimate, (m) that it was a Metaphysick Eternity before his Generation, which he meant ; and of which indeed he was very fond. This, I own he express'd the most like to one that suppos'd somewhat of a real Eternity of any of the Antients ; especially this is the more remarkable in him on account of his plain avoiding of part of the old Language, that God *created* our Saviour ; and substituting other Metaphysical Words in its stead. So that this Notion, of a sort of *real Eternity* of our Saviour, almost wholly stands, at least for Two Centuries, upon a few Passages in *Irenaeus*.

Now I cannot perswade my self to go into it upon

(k) *De Trinit. c. 31. p. 763.*

(l) See Account of the Primitive Faith p. 156.

(m) *L. II. c. 48. p. 176. & L. III. c. 20. p. 245.*

such Authority ; because no Apostle, nor any one that knew an Apostle ever said so ; no Eastern Writer then ever said so ; no Unphilosophical Writer ever said so ; neither himself nor any body else say so in their Creeds, or Accounts of Doctrines deriv'd from the Apostles ; He that said so was a very weak Reasoner, and ventured to argue rashly enough with the Hereticks, instead of the better original way of confuting them rather by Tradition and Scripture. He liv'd in the West, where Antichristianism first began ; and he brought in heretical Language into the Church in this matter, as we shall see presently ; nay he went in with the corrupt Roman Practice about *Easter*, even against his own Master *Polycarp*, and the Apostles themselves, as is well known. So that I cannot set up a few unsupported Expressions of *Irenaeus* alone, were they never so plain, as they are not, against all the other full Evidence of the Christian Doctrine in this matter. I Observe

VI. That tho' Dr. *Clarke* does not assert, (n) that our Saviour was *not created*, nor can deny the original Use of the Words *Create* and *Creature*, with the like ; yet does he leave too much room for the Reader to suppose that he disapproves of those Words ; and that the Term *begotten* seems to him more proper for this Mystery. Now here I must greatly complain that the Doctor has not given us the Evidence that he seems to oppose : He has not set down even all the Words of the sacred Writers hereto relating : He has made an Observation or two to evade the Acknowledgment of this Creation, not over exact ; and put an Interpretation or two on some Texts not well supported. I shall therefore here both refer the Reader to my own and Dr. *Clarke's* Collections, (o) that the *Generation*

(n) P. 82. Gr.

(o) Scripture Doctrine of the Trin. p. 286. Gr. Account of the Primitive Faith Art. VI.

of our Saviour was not *necessary* but *voluntary* ; nay that the Will or good Pleasure of God *preceded* that Generation ; and shall actually produce the original Passages themselves, for his Creation ; and then desire the Reader to judge, whether the particular Humour of *Irenæus*, before, and of *Ensebius* after the Council of *Nice*, to avoid one of the undoubted Notions and Words of our Religion, be of sufficient Authority to set it aside among impartial Men.

Solomon.

Κύριε (a) ἔκτισέ με, ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτῶν, εἰς ἔργα αὐτῶν· πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐδεμελίωσέ με· ἐν ἀρχῇ, πρὸ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι, πρὸ τοῦ περελθεῖν τὰς πηγὰς ὕδατων, πρὸ τοῦ ὄρεν ἐδραδύσαι· πρὸ ὅ πάντων ἐγὼν ἦν ἡνὶά με.

Son of Sirach.

Πεντήρα (b) πάντων ἔκτισται σοφία· καὶ συνέσις φρονήσεως ἐξ αἰῶνος. — κύριε ἔκτισεν αὐτὸν, κ. τ. λ.

Τότε (c) ἐνετέλειτό μοι ὁ κτίστης ἐπαύλων· καὶ ὁ κτίσας με κατέπαυσε τὴν σκηνήν μου. — πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἔκτισέ με· καὶ ἕως αἰῶνος οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπω.

The Lord created me, the beginning of his ways, for his Works : before the World he founded me : in the beginning, before he made the earth, before the Fountains of Water came, before the mountains were fastened : he begat me before all the hills.

Wisdom hath been created before all things ; and the understanding of prudence from the beginning of the World.—The Lord Created her. &c.

Then the Creator of all things gave me a Commandment, and he that Created me caused my Tabernacle to rest.—He Created me before the World began, from the beginning : and I shall not fail to the end of the World.

(a) Prov. VIII. 22. Gr. Sic LXXII. Chald. Pdr apbr. Syrus Arabs, & vulgat. Antiq. constanter legunt. (b) Ecclus. I. 4, 9 (c) XXIV. 8, 9.

Philo.

Ὁ Θεὸς (d) ἐκτίσατό με,
περὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν ἐργῶν. καὶ
πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐδεμελίωσέ
με.

Paul.

Πρωτότου (e) πάσης κτί-
σεως.

Πιστὴν (f) ὄντα τῷ ποιή-
σαι αὐτόν;

John.

Ἡ ἀρχὴ (g) τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ
θεοῦ.

Peter.

Πέτρος (h) ἐν τῷ κηρύγ-
ματι λέγει, γινώσκετε ὅτι
εἷς Θεὸς ἐστίν, ὃς ἀρχὴ πάν-
των ἐποίησεν. * Ἐν μὲν τῷ ἀ-
ρχηγίῳ, ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεός·
ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ προϋπάρχοντι, δι' ὃ
τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς
αὐτὸς ἐγένετο εἰς τὸν θεόν.

Εἷς γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἐστὶν ὁ
Θεός, ὃς ἀρχὴ καὶ πάντων
ἐποίησεν, μνησθὲν τὸν πρωτό-
γονον υἱόν, ὃ Πέτρος γενο-
μενός ἀκριβῶς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐ-
ποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν υἱόν καὶ
τὸν γῆν. Σοφία δὲ αὐτὴ εἰρη-
νικὴ πρὸς πάντων καὶ περὶ
αὐτῶν.

God Created me, the
first of his works; and be-
fore the World began did
he found me.

The First-born of every
Creature.

He was faithful to him
that Made him?

The beginning of the
Creation of God. [With
a plain Allusion to the Text
in the Proverbs.]

Peter in his Preaching says,
Know ye therefore that
there is One God, who
made the beginning of all
things.— There is One Un-
begotten Being, the Al-
mighty God; and one Be-
ing begotten before the rest
also, by whom all things
were made, and without
whom was nothing at all
made.

For there is in reality but
one God, who made the
Beginning [or Principle] of
all things; meaning his First-
born Son. Peter writes like
one that perfectly well un-
derstood that Expression, In
the beginning, [or by the
Principle,] God made the
Heaven and the Earth. Now
this Person is called Wisdom
by all the Prophets.

(d) Philo de Temulent. (e) Colos. I. 15.

(f) Heb. III. 2. (g) Apoc. III. 14.

(h) Ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. 6, p. 635. * p. 644.

Hermas.

Cui Nuncius, † Audi. Illum Spiritum Sanctum qui creatus est omnium primus, in corpore, in quo habitaret, Deus collocavit : in electo scilicet corpore, quod ei videbatur.

Apostles.

*Περί (i) αὐτῶν καὶ Σολομῶν ἐ-
λεγε, ὡς ἐν προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ, κύ-
ριος ἐκτίσεν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν
αὐτοῦ, εἰς ἔργα αὐτῶν· πρὸ τῶ αἰ-
ῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέν με ἐν ἀρχῇ,
πρὸ ὧν ἔγιν' ποιῆσαι, πρὸ τῶ
ἐλθεῖν τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ὕδα-
τος, πρὸ τῶ ὅτι ἐδραδύωμαι,
πρὸ ὧ πάντων βυνῶν· ἡμῶν
με.*

*Ἄλλ' (k) αἰῶνον καὶ ἀναρχον,
ἀλλὰ μόνον αἰδίως, παντο-
κράτορα, Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τῶ
μονογενοῦς καὶ πρωτοτόκου πά-
τρως δημιουργίας.*

*Ὅπως (l) εἰς μνήμην ἐρ-
χόμεθα τῆς ἐκείνου ἐπιθεώσεως
σοφίας ὡς δι' ἡμᾶς γένεσιν ὑ-
πόστασις, τὴν διὰ γυναῖκος κ.
τ. λ.*

To whom the Messenger reply'd, Harken. That Holy Spirit which was first of all Created, did God place in a Body, wherein it should inhabit ; that is, in a chosen Body, which pleased him.

Concerning Him also spake Solomon, as in his Person, The Lord Created me, the beginning of his Ways, for his works : before the World he founded me : in the beginning, before he made the earth, before the fountains of waters came, before the Mountains were fastened : he begat me before all the hills.

But Eternal, and without Original ; — but the only eternal Being, the all-powerfull Being, the God and Father of the Only-begotten, and of the First-born of the whole Creation

That we might come into the Remembrance of that Wisdom which was Created by thee ; How He submitted to be made of a Woman on our account, &c.

† Simil. V. §. 6. p. 150. See Acc. of the Prim. Faith p. 116

(i) Constit. L. V. c. 20. p. 325.

(k) Constit. L. VI. c. 11. p. 340.

(l) L. VII. c. 36. p. 376.

Τὸν (m) μονογενῆ αὐτῷ υἱόν, τὸν
πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως,
ὃ πρὸ αἰώνων εὐδοκία τῷ πα-
τρὶ, γνηθέντα.

Αὐτὸν (a) ὃ πρὸ πάντων
αἰώνων γνήσας βελήσει, καὶ
δυναμει, καὶ ἀγαθότητι, ἀμεσι-
τεύτως, υἱὸν μονογενῆ, λόγον Θε-
όν, σοφίαν ᾤσαν, πρωτότο-
κον πάσης κτίσεως· κ. τ. λ.

Ἐαυτὸς (b) καὶ ἀλλήλους πρὸς
αἰδίῳ Θεῷ, διὰ τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ
λόγον ᾤσαν, ἰδὲ Ignat.
ad Antioch. §. 14. p. 113.

Ignatius.

Εἷς Θεὸς (c) ὁ παντοκρά-
της, ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ· ὃς
ᾤσαν αὐτὸν λόγον, καὶ ῥῆτὸς ἀλλ'
ἰσιώδης· ἐ γὰρ ᾤσαν λαλιᾶς
ἐκφῶρα ῥήματα, ἀλλ' ἐνε-
ργίας θεϊκῆς ἰσὶα γνητή.

Καὶ (d) ἐν ἄλλοις, λέγει
ἐκτισί με ἀρχῇ, ὅθεν αὐτῷ
εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῷ αἰῶνι
ἰδεμελίωσέ με· πρὸ ὃ πάν-
των βουνῶν ἤνῃ με.

His Only begotten Son,
the First-born of the whole
Creation, who before the
Ages was begotten by the
good Pleasure of the Father.

Thou didst beget him be-
fore all Ages, by thy Will,
thy Power, and thy Good-
ness, without any Instru-
ment, the Only-begotten
Son, God the Word, the liv-
ing Wisdom, the First-born
of every Creature.

Let us Dedicate our selves
and one another to the Eter-
nal God, through that Word
which was in the beginning:

There is one God Al-
mighty, who has manifested
himself by Jesus Christ his
Son; who is his Word; not
pronounced but substantial:
For he is not the Voice of
articulate Speech, but a Sub-
stance begotten by the Di-
vine Power.

And elsewhere, [he speaks
by Solomon,] The Lord
Created me, the beginning
of his Ways, for his works:
before the the World did he
found me: and before all
the Mountains did he beget
me.

(m) C. 41. p. 380. (a) L. VIII. c. 12. p. 399.

(b) C. 41. p. 418.

(c) Ignat. ad Magnes. §. 8. p. 58.

(d) Ad Tarf. §. 6. p. 107.

Author of the Recognitions.

Qui (e) ergo esse non incobavit praeclitus Deus genuit primogenitum omnis creatura. — Genuit ergo Deus quod & facturam vocare didicimus : hoc ipsum ergo vocare & genituram, & facturam & reliqua horum vocabulorum. — Idcirco igitur vere & genitura, & factura, & creatura competenter appellatur ; quia Substantia non est ingentium.

Cum (f) ergo unus sit Ingentius & unus Genitus, Spiritus Sanctus Filius dici non potest, nec Primogenitus ; factus est enim per factum.

Justin Martyr.

Τὸτω (g) ὁ πατὴρ προσομιλεῖ, ὡς ὁ λόγος διὰ τοῦ Σολομῶντος ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐρχοῦ, πρὶ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡρώματων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγέννητο, ἡ σοφία διὰ Σολομῶντος καλεῖται.

Καὶ ὁ (a) Τρύφων ἐταύμιζεν καὶ ἰδὼν κύριον, καὶ Χριστόν, καὶ Θεὸν ἡγούμενον, ὡς αἱ γεγραμμέναι σημαίνουσιν, οἱ τινες,

He therefore who had no beginning, that God I have been speaking of, begat the First-born of every Creature. — God therefore begat that which we have learn'd to call the *Workmanship* of God, which we may therefore call a *Being begotten*, and a *Being made*, or by the parallel Names. — And therefore is it, that he is truly and agreeably called a *Being Begotten*, and a *Being Made*, and a *Being Created*, because his Substance is not any thing unbegotten.

Whereas therefore there is but One Unbegotten Being, and One Begotten, the Holy Spirit cannot be called the Son of God, nor his First-born : for he was *Made by a Being which was himself Made*.

To him did the Father speak, as the Word declares by Solomon ; For in the beginning, before all Creatures, this very Off-spring was produc'd by God, which by Solomon is stiled Wisdom.

Then said Trypho, Let him be owned by you of the Gentiles as Lord, and Christ,

(e) *Recogn. L. III. §. 8. p. 520.*

(f) *§. 11. p. 521.*

(g) *Just Dial. cum Tryph. p. 285.*

(a) *P. 287. See Account of the Prim. Faith. p. 124.*

ἐξ ὧν τὸ ὄνομα τῷ αὐτῷ
 χριστιανοὶ καλεῖσθαι πάντες ἐ-
 χήκασι. ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ
 αὐτὸν ὅσον ποιήσαντες λα-
 τρεῖται ὄντες, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς
 ὁμολογίας αὐτοῦ, ἐξ ὧν περ-
 σκυήσεως.

Athenagoras.

Συνάδει δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ
 πνευματικῷ πνεύματι κύριον
 γὰρ φησιν, ἐκτίσέ με, ἀρ-
 χὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐξ ὧν
 αὐτῷ.

Tatian.

Θεὸς ἦν (c) ἐν ἀρχῇ. τὸν
 καὶ ἀρχὴν λόγου δυνάμιν πα-
 ρεῖνθαι. ὁ γὰρ διασπότης
 ἐπὶ ὅλων αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων τῷ
 πατρὶ ἢ ὑποστάσει, καὶ μὴ
 τῷ μηδεπῶ γενημένῳ ποι-
 ῶν μόνον ἦν καὶ δὲ πᾶσα
 δυνάμις ὁρατὴ καὶ ἀόρατος αὐ-
 τοῦ ὑποστάσεως ἦν, σὺν αὐτῷ
 καὶ τὰ πάντα· σὺν αὐτῷ γὰρ
 διὰ λογικῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ
 καὶ ὁ λόγος, ὅς ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ,
 ὑπέστησε δελήματι δὲ τῆς
 ἐκπλάτης αὐτοῦ περιηδῶ
 λόγος. ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ
 γὰρ χωρήσας ἔργον πρῶτότο-

and God, as the Scripture^s
 declare; by you, I say, who
 have all obtained the name
 of Christians from him. But
 for us who are the Worship-
 pers of that God who *Made*
 him, we stand in no need of
 such a Confession, nor of
 such a Worship.

The Prophetick Spirit
 also agrees to this Account:
 For says he, the Lord Crea-
 ted me the beginning of his
 ways, for his Works.

God was in the Begin-
 ning: But we have receiv'd
 this Notion, that this Be-
 ginning was the Power of
 the Word. For the Lord
 of the Universe, being He
 in whom all things subsist,
 was alone, if we regard
 the Creation which was not
 yet made; but if we regard
 this, that all the Power of
 visible and invisible Beings
 subsisted in him, all things
 were with him, for with
 him in metaphysick Exist-
 ence the Word himself,
 which was in him, subsist-
 ed. Now by his meer
 Will the Word came forth.
 But the Word proceeding
 from him, who did not
 thereby become empty, be-
 came the first-born Work
 of the Father. Him we

κον τῷ πατρὶς γίνεθ'. οὐ-
τον ἴσμεν τῷ κόσμῳ τὴν ἀρ-
χὴν.

Melito.

Melito (d) scripsit librum
de ἡσέως καὶ ἡσέως Χε-
ρῶ, nunc deperditum.

Irenaeus, of the Spirit.

Quoniam (e) autem & Sapi-
entia, Quae est Spiritus, apud
Deum ante omnem Constitutio-
nem. — Et rursus, Dominus
Creavit me principium viarum,
suarum, in opera sua; ante se-
culum fundavit me: in initio,
antequam terram faceret, & pri-
usquam procederent fontes aqua-
rum, antequam montes confir-
marentur; ante omnes autem
colles genuit me.

Clement of Alexandria.

Τί (f) σοι σοφίας ἀναγ-
γέλλω μυθία, καὶ ῥήσεις ἐν
παιδὸς ἐβελίς (σοφισμένης;
καὶ οὐκ ἔστις με ἀρχὴ ὁ-
δῶν αὐτῶ, εἰς ἔργα αὐτῶ.

Μὴ (g) (σωτῆρας λέγοντος)
ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς σοφίας τῆς
πρωτοκτίστου τοῦ Θεοῦ.

know to be the beginning
of the World.

Melito wrote a Book con-
cerning the Creation and
Generation of Christ, now
lost.

But because Wisdom,
which is the Spirit, was
with God before the intire
Constitution of things.—
And again, the Lord Crea-
ted me the beginning of his
ways, for his Works: be-
fore the World he founded
me: in the beginning, be-
fore he made the Earth, be-
fore the fountains of Water
came, before the Mountains
were fastened: he begat me
before all the Hills.

Why must I be obliged
to declare to you the Mys-
teries of Wisdom, and the
Words of that wise young
Man among the Hebrews?
The Lord Created me the
beginning of his ways for
his Works.

They did not perceive
that these things were spo-
ken of the first created Wis-
dom of God.

(d) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. L. IV. c. 26. p. 147.

(e) Iren L. IV. c. 37. p. 331. (f) Clem. Alex. ad Gent. p. 52.

(g) Strom. 5. p. 391.

καὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰς κτίσμα
κατέθεν.

Tertullian.

(b) *Aiunt quidem & Gene-
sim in Hebraico ita incipere ;
In Principio Deus fecit sibi fili-
um. Hoc ut firmum non sit,
alià me argumenta deducunt ab
ipsa Dei dispositione qua fuit an-
te mundi constitutionem ad usque
filii generationem. Ante omnia
enim Deus erat solus, &c.*

*Itaque * Sopbiam quoque ex-
audi, ut secundam personam
conditam. Primo Dominus
creavit me initium viarum, in
opera sua ; priusquam terram
faceret ; priusquam montes col-
locarentur ; ante omnes autem
colles generavit me :*

*Hec (a) est nativitas per-
fecta Sermonis ; cum ex Deo
procedit, Conditus ab eo primum
ad cogitatum, in nomine Sopbie ;
Dominus condidit me initium
viarum.*

He also depresses the Son
into the Rank of Creatures.
[says Photius (g) of Clement.]

They say indeed that Ge-
nesis in the Hebrew begins
thus ; In the beginning
God Made himself a Son.
But suppose that be not cer-
tain, yet other Arguments
there are which support my
Opinion ; taken from the Oe-
conomy of God, in which
he was before the Constitu-
tion of the World, until
the Generation of his Son.
For before all things God
was alone, &c.

Hearken therefore to
Wisdom, as to a Second
Person Created. First, we
have this, The Lord Crea-
ted me the Beginning of his
Ways, for his Works ; be-
fore he made the earth, be-
fore the mountains were
fastened ; nay, he begat
me before all the hills.

This is the compleat Na-
tivity of the Word in his
Procession from the Father :
at first Created by him, so
far as thought, under the
Name of Wisdom ; the
Lord Created me the begin-
ning of his Ways.

(g) Hypotyp. ap. Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 109. p. 249

(h) Advers. Prax. §. 5. p. 637.

* §. 6. p. 637.

(2) §. 7. p. 638.

Quia (b) & Pater Deus est, & Juxta Deus est; non tamen ideo Pater & Juxta semper, quia Deus semper; Nam nec Pater potuit esse ante filium; nec Juxta ante delictum, Fuit autem tempus cum & delictum & filius non fuit, quod Juxta, & qui Patrem Dominum faceret. — Quis (c) alius Dei censurus quam aternitas? quis alius aternitatis status quam semper fuisse, & futurum esse, ex Prerogativa nullius inchoi, & nullius finis? Hoc si Dei est proprium, solius Dei erit cuius est proprium.

Nam etsi sunt qui dicuntur Dei, sive in Caelo, sive in Terra, nomine, ceterum Unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, &c.

Dices (a) Deus, Ego primus. Et quomodo primus cui materia coetanea est? inter coetaneos & contemporaneos ordo non est, &c.

Because God is both a Father and a Judge, yet was he not therefore always a Father and a Judge, because he was always God: For he could not be a Father before he had a Son, nor a Judge, before there was any Sin: Now there was a Time when there was no Sin, and he had no Son. The former made him a Judge, and the latter a Father--What other Characteristics there of God than Eternity? What other Meaning is there of Eternity, than to have always been heretofore, and to continue always in being hereafter, by that great Privilege of no beginning, and no end. If this be a Property of a God, it must be peculiar to God alone, whose Property it is.

For although there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or in Earth, so far as the Name extends, yet is there but One God, the Father, of whom are all things, &c.

God will say, I am the first. And how the first, if matter be coeval with him? For there is no first among coeval and contemporary Beings, &c.

(b) Advers. Hermog. §. 3. (c) §. 4. (a) §. 6.

Denique (b) ut necessariam
sensit ad opera mundi, statim eam
condidit & generat in semetipso;
Dominus, inquit, condidit me
in izium viarum suarum, in ope-
ra sua; ante secula fundavit me,
priusquam faceret terram, pri-
usquam montes collocarentur;
ante omnes autem colles genera-
vit me. Vid. S. 20.

Origen.

Ὁ υἱὸς (c) τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅς ἐστι
πρωτότοκος ὅλης κτίσεως,
εἰ καὶ νωτὶ ἐκλυθῆναι
ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε διὰ τοῦ
τοῦ νῦν ὅτι πρεσβύτερον ἢ
αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν δημιουργη-
μάτων ἴσασιν οἱ θεοὶ λόγοι.

Πρωτότοκος (d) ὅλης κτί-
σεως, κτίσμα, σοφία αὐτῇ ἢ
ἡ σοφία φησὶν, ὁ Θεὸς ἐκτίσε-
μα ἀρχῶν ὁ δ' αὖν ἑαυτὸν, εἰς ἑρ-
γὰ αὐτοῦ.

(e) Ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον
πνεῦμα κτίσματα εἰσι.

Hear Photius's Account.

Τὸν (a) μὲν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πα-
τρὸς πεποιηθῆναι, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα
ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ.

To conclude, as soon as
he perceiv'd Wisdom was
necessary for the making of
the World, he presently
creates her, and begets her
in himself. The Lord, says
Wisdom, Created me the
Beginning of his ways, for
his Works; before the
World he founded me, be-
fore he made the Earth, be-
fore the Mountains were fa-
stened: he begat me before
all Hills.

For the Son of God, the
First-born of every Creature,
altho' he seems to have been
incarnate but very lately,
yet is he not therefore a
late Being; for the Sacred
Oracles own him to be the
antientest of all Creatures.

The First-born of the
whole Creation, a Creature,
Wisdom. For Wisdom her-
self says, God Created me
the Beginning of his own
ways, for his works.

The Son and Holy Ghost
are Creatures.

That the Son was made
by the Father, and the Spi-
rit by the Son.

(b) S. 18.

(c) Orig. Contr. Cels. L. V. p. 257.

Φ (d) Ap. Justinian. Ep. ad Mch. (ex Lib. 4. πρὸς ἀρχῶν)
Huet. Origenian.

e) Ibid.

(a) Phot. Cod. LVIII. ex Lib. πρὸς ἀρχῶν

Hear

Hear also Epiphanius's account of Origen's Opinion; Ἐκ γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας (c) τῷ πατρὶ τὸν εἰσθγείται, κτισθὲν ὃ αἶμα.

And again,

φανερότατα (b) τὸν υἱὸν τῷ Θεῷ κτίσμα ἐσθγμάτισε· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ πλῆμης γυνῆς ὅτι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κτισθὲν εἰσθγῆσθται.

And again,

Τέτα (d) χάειν τὸ συνῶν θείον εἰσθγῆσαι αὐτὸν σαφὲς ὅτι κτισθὲν ὁρίσθται.

Gregory Thaumaturgus in Basil.

Διὸ καὶ (e) καὶ πολλὰς αὐτῷ εὐχὰς ἀπὸ φωνῆς, τὰς νῦν τοῖς ἀσεβητικοῖς μαγίστην ἰσθγῶν παρρησιόμας, ὡς τὸ κτίσμα, καὶ τὸ ποίημα, καὶ εἰ τι τοῖς τόν.

Novatian.

Ante (f) quem nihil prater Patrem.—Est ergo Deus Pater omnium Institutor & Creator, solus originem nesciens, invisibilis, immensus, immortalis, æternus, unus Deus; cujus neque magnitudini, neque majestati, neque virtuti quisquam non dixerim præferri, sed nec comparari potest. Ex quo, quando ipse voluit, Sermo Filius natus est, &c.—Hic ergo cum sit genitus

He supposes him deriv'd from the Substance of the Father; but to be still Created by him.

It was most plainly his Doctrine, that the Son of God is a Creature; and from this bold Attempt about God, you may suppose it was, that he declared the Holy Spirit to be Created also.

On this account, when he says he is a *Made God*, 'tis plain he determines that he is but a *Created Being*.

Wherefore you will indeed find there many Expressions, which do now afford the greatest Strength to the Hereticks; such as the *Word Creature*, and that of a *Being Made* by God, and the like.

Before whom there was nothing but the Father.—God the Father therefore is the Ordainer of all things, and their Creator: He alone is without Original, invisible, immense, immortal, eternal, the One God; to whose Greatness, or Majesty, or Power, nothing

(b) Hieres. 64. § 4. p. 527 (c) §. 5. p. 529. (d) §. 8. p. 531.

(e) Gregor. Thaum. ap. Basil Ep. 64. Op. Tom. II. p. 849.

(f) Navas de Tijn, c. 11. p. 349. c. 31. p. 409.

a Patre, semper est in Patre. Semper autem sic dico ut non innatum sed natum probem. Sed qui ante omne tempus est semper in Patre fuisse dicendus est. Nec enim Tempus illi assignari potest qui ante Tempus est. Semper enim in Patre, ne Pater non semper sit Pater. Quia & Pater illum etiam precedit; quod necesse est prior sit qua Pater sit; quoniam antecedit necesse est eum qui habet originem ille qui Originem nescit, &c. — Ante omnia, sed post Patrem. — Secundam Personam efficientem, sed post Patrem, qua Filius.

can, I don't say be prefer'd; but so much as compar'd. Of whom, when it pleased the Father, the Word; which is his Son, was begotten. — Since therefore he was begotten by the Father, he is *always* in the Father. I say *always* in such a Sense only, which supposes him not Unbegotten, but Begotten. But I reckon he who was before all Time, is to be said to be *always* in the Father, least the Father should not be *always* a Father. For the Father is prior to him; since it must needs be, that as he is his Father, he must be prior to him; because it must needs be, that he who has no Origin must be before him who has one. — He is certainly before all things, but after his Father. — Making a Second Person after his Father, as being his Son.

Oprior.

Apud (a) Solomonem in Proverbiis, Dominus Condidit me initium viarum suarum, in opera sua; ante seculum fundavit me; In principio, antequam terram faceret, & antequam abyssos constitueret, priusquam procerederent fontes aquarum, antequam montes collocarentur, an-

In the Proverbs of Solomon; The Lord Created me the beginning of his ways, for his Works; before the World he founded me; in the beginning, before he made the earth, and before he appointed the

te omnes colles genuit me Dominus. — Item Paulus ad Colossenses, Qui est Imago Dei invisibilis, & Primogenitus totius creaturae.

Dionysius Alexandrinus in Basil.

“Α ὁ (α) ὁμοῦσις, ἢ Δι. ὁμοῦσις ἢ ἄλλος μὴ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ πᾶσι πολλὰ. — ἐπὶ πάντα θαυμάζομεν τὸν ἀνδρῆς. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς διαγεγραμμένοι. χεῖρον δὲ ταυτοῖς τῆς οὐκ ἀντιθεταμένης ἀρετῆς τῆς καὶ τῶ ἀνθρώπου λέγει, ὅτι ἐστὶν, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀνδρῶν τὰ πνεύματα ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν. — ἐκ ἑτέρων τῶν μόνον ἢ ἰσοστάσεων εἶναι, ὅσα καὶ ἰσὶας διαπορεύει καὶ διαμένει ὁρεῖται, καὶ ὁρᾷς ἀλλήλων.”

Hear also the Testimony of *Athenasius* about *Dionysius*.

“ὅτι (b) τοῖσις ἐν ἱστορίᾳ τῶν μακαρίων διούσιον ἐκείνου τοῖσις καὶ γεννῶν ἐν τῶν ὡς τῶ Θεοῦ. καὶ ἱστορεῖται, ὁμολογεῖται καὶ ἡμῶς ὅτι τοιαύτως ὁμοῦσιν αὐτῷ.”

Deep, before the Mountains were placed; The Lord begat me before all the Hills. — *Paul* also says to the *Colossians*, Who is the Image of the invisible God; the First-born of the whole Creation.

But as to your Question about *Dionysius*, I own that a great number of his Books have come to my Hands.

— We don't admire every thing that he says; nay, some things we intirely disapprove: For this very Man is the first, as far as we have discovered, who laid the Seeds of this noted Impiety of the Anomœans.

— He does not only suppose a Difference as to their Subsistences, but a diversity of Substance, and a difference of Glory.

The Arians say that the blessed *Dionysius* said the Son of God is a Creature, and a Being Made. Yes, he did write so; we ourselves also do own, that there is such an Epistle of his.

(a) ap. Basil. Ep. 41. ad Maz. Op. Tom. 2. p. 802.

(b) Athenas. de Sentent. Dionys. Op. Tom. 1. §. 4. p. 246.

Theognostus in Photius.

Δ) (b) ἂν δὲν φησι τὸν πατέρα
ἔχειν ὑδὲν ὃν ὁ λέγων κτίσ-
μα αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνει.

Methodius.

Κύριε (c) ἔκτισέ με ἀρ-
χὴν ὁδῶν αὐτῶ, εἰς ἔργα αὐ-
τοῦ· περὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἰδεμελί-
ωσέ με. — ἔκην ἀρχὴν μὲν
τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀναρχόν ἀρχὴν τὸν
πατέρα, αὐτὸς τῶν ἄλλων γί-
νη.

Laëtantius:

(d) *Deus—antequam ordire-
tur hoc opus mundi,—produx-
it similem sui spiritum, qui esset
virtutibus Dei Patris præditus;
quomodo autem id fecerit, in
quarto libro docere conabimur.*

*Deus (e) igitur machinator
constitutorque rerum, sicuti in
secundo libro diximus, antequam
præclarum hoc opus mundi ado-
raretur, sanctum & incorrupti-
bilem spiritum genuit, quem
Filium nuncuparet.— Videlicet
ipse est Dei Filius, qui per So-
lomonem sapientissimum Regem,
divino spiritu plenum, locutus
est ea quæ subjesimus: Deus
Condidit me initio viarum sua-
rum, in opera sua; ante secula
fundavit me; in principio, an-
tequam terram fuceret, & ante-*

Wherein he affirms, that
the Father was to have a
Son: but when he speaks
of that Son, he declares
that he is a Creature.

The Lord Created me
the beginning of his ways,
for his works; before the
World he founded me. —
Wherefore he is the Origin
of other Beings, after the
Father, who is his own un-
originated Origin.

God — before he set a-
bout the making this
World, produced a Spirit
like unto himself, who
should be endowed with the
Powers of God the Father.
Now after what manner he
did this, we will endeavour
to shew in the Fourth Book.

God therefore, the Con-
triver and Framers of the
World, as we observ'd in
the second Book, before he
set about this great Work
of making the World, be-
gat an Holy and Incorrupt-
ible Spirit, which he called
his Son. — He, I mean, is
the Son of God, who spake
by Solomon, the wisest of
Kings, and one full of the

(b) *Ap. Phot. Cod. 106. p. 279.*

(c) *De Creat. p. 345.*

(e) *L. IV. §. 6. 200, 201.*

(d) *Laëtant. L. II. §. 8. p. 93.*

quam abyssos constitueret, priusquam prodirent fontes aquarum, ante omnes colles genuit me Dominus.

Eusebius.

Περί (α) τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ὡς
πρὸ σοφίας ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς ὑποστάσις,
καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀιῶνος ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ
κτισθείσης, κ. τ. λ.

Καὶ (β) ὁ τέταρτος παῖς ὁ
μὲν καὶ διάδοχος σολομῶν, ὁ
τέταρτος περὶ ἐξουσίας τῶν αὐτῶν
παισίδας διανοίαν, ἀντὶ λό-
γου σοφίαν ἐπὶ τὴν τέλει, ὡς
καὶ αὐτῆς περὶ ὧν διέξοισιν.
Ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐπιλέγει, καὶ
ἐκτιθεῖ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν
αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐργα αὐτῶν. πρὸ τοῦ
αἰῶνος ὁ Θεὸς μελίωσέ με ἐν
ἀρχῇ, πρὸ τοῦ ἡ γῆν ποι-
ῆσαι, πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη ἐδεσθῆναι,
πρὸ τοῦ πάντων τοῦ βυθῶν ἡμ-
εῖς με.

Divine Spirit, as follows :
God Created me in the be-
ginning of his ways, for his
works ; before the World
he founded me ; in the be-
ginning, before he made
the earth, before he appoin-
ted the deeps, before the
fountains of water came ;
the Lord begat me before
all the Hills.

Concerning God the
Word, as concerning that
Wisdom that does substan-
tially subsist, and was Cre-
ated by God before the
World began, &c.

His Son and Successor
Solomon, giving us the same
Sense in other Language, u-
sing the Name of Wisdom,
instead of the Word, makes
this Declaration, as in her
Person.—Then he subjoins
afterward, The Lord Cre-
ated me the beginning of
his ways, for his works ; be-
fore the World he founded
me ; in the beginning, be-
fore he made the earth, be-
fore the mountains were
fastened, He begat me be-
fore all the Hills.

(a) Eclogæ Prophet. Mss. ap. Cave Histor. Literat. Part II.
p. 64, 65.

(b) Prep. Evang. L. XI. c. 14. p. 532. See Hist. Eccl. L. I. c. 2. p. 8.

Πρωτότοκον (c) μὲν ὃ πά-
σης ἀνείρη) κτίσεως· καὶ τὸ,
Κύριον ἐκτίσέν με ἀρχῇ ὁ-
δῶν αὐτοῦ, εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

Ἀλλὰ (d) ὃ ὡς περὶ τὴν θεῖαν
γραφὴν τότε μὲν πρωτότοκον
πάσης κτίσεως τὸν υἱὸν ἀνα-
γορεύει, καὶ αὐτὸν πρωτόγονον,
τὸ, κύριον ἐκτίσέν με ἀρχῇ
ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ.

Athanasius.

Μάθετε (e) καλῶς ἀναγι-
νῶσκειν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ παρ-
οίᾳ ῥητόν, ὅτι μὲν ἔχον καὶ
αὐτὸ τὴν διάνοιαν γέγε-
νηται μὲν ὃ, κύριον ἐκτίσέν
με ἀρχῇ ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔ-
ργα αὐτοῦ.

He is named the First-
born of every Creature, ac-
cording to that Text, the
Lord Created me the begin-
ning of his ways, for his
works.

But then the Divine Scri-
pture sometimes calls the
Son the First-born of every
Creature, as in his own
Person in that Text, The
Lord Created me the be-
ginning of his ways:

Let them learn to read
after a due manner also
what is said in the Proverbs,
which it self has a right
meaning; for 'tis written,
the Lord Created me the
beginning of his ways, for
his works. [This Text is
most frequently cited and
pretended to be answered
by *Athanasius*.] See also
the like in *Hilary*, L. IV.
& XII. *De Trin.* & *de Sy-
nod. Nazianzen.* *Ambrosi-
de Fide* III. 4. *Basili.* IV.

adv. Eunom. *Epiph. Hares.* LXIX. *Hieron.* Cap. 2.
ad Ephes. & Cap. 40. *Job.* *Cyrill.* Lib. V. *Thef.* Cap.
4. & alibi. *Theodor.* *Histor.* I. 6. 7. II. 31. *Socrat.*
II. 15, 17. *Ithacius Arnob. jun.* *Conflict.* *Serap.* *Ful-
gent.* *Contr. Arian.* *Vigil.* Lib. V. *Contr.* *Eutych.* qui
etiam probat ex hoc loco Christum esse Creatum.

(c) *Demonst. Evang.* L. V. c. 1. p. 213.

(d) P. 214. *Viā.* c. 3. p. 221.

(e) *Orat. 3. Contr. Arian.* Op. Vol. 1. §. 44. p. 512.

Upon

Upon this View of the antient Testimonies, we may observe that this Doctrine and Language runs intire from the Days of *Solomon*, by the Son of *Syrach*, and by *Philo* the Jew, to the Writers of the New Testament, *Peter*, *Paul*, *John*, *Hermas*, the Constitutions, in the first Century ; and so down to *Ignatius*, the Recognitions, *Justin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, and *Melito*, in the second Century ; and from all these comes down to *Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, *Novatian*, *Cyprian*, *Dionysius of Alexandria*, *Theognostus*, and *Meibodius* in the Third Century ; and even to *Laurentius* and *Eusebius* himself in the Beginning of the Fourth. And we may note withal, that we have no certain Evidence of any that contradicted the same all this Time ; nor indeed, that any were so much as doubtful about it, unless it were *Irenaeus*, and, as some imagin, *Justin* : Of the former of whom I note, that when he avoided the Words, *Create* and *Creature*, he was forced to go contrary to other Christians in his Interpretation of the famous Place in the *Proverbs*, and to expound that *Wisdom Created by God* of the Holy Spirit : We may also observe, that the great *Eusebius*, who comply'd so far after the Council of *Nice*, as rather to omit the Words *Create* and *Creature*, yet did not so before ; So that his After-omission was not a Sign his Judgment dislik'd, but rather that his Prudence wav'd them at that time. As to *Athanasius*, whose Testimony I have added in the last Place ; 'tis not to support this Doctrine or Language by his Authority ; for he was the great Promoter of the contrary Heresy ; but to shew how universal this Notion and Language was in his Days, and how certainly all Christians interpreted that Texts in the *Proverbs* of our Saviour's *Creation*, when He, in all his terrible Agonies about it, and vain Endeavors to get clear of it, could not but ever own it belong'd to our Saviour ; and by consequence,

quence, that He by running down that Doctrine and Language, ventur'd to oppose the Dictates of the Holy Spirit of God. For as to that Evasion which He is ever driven to, that this Text belongs not to the original *Creation* of our Lord before the World, but to his *Incarnation* afterward, 'tis so gross, absurd, and ridiculous, that I can hardly believe any Man of Common Sense, much less a Man of the Parts of *Athanasius* could believe himself in such an Exposition. And I beg of those that are Admirers of his Reasoning, to let me see one Christian now in the World so very weak, as in earnest to go into that Interpretation. We must also note; that these Passages still extant for the real *Creation* of our Saviour; considering the sad Losses and Interpolations of those old Books that were against the *Athanasians*, are very many and very plain; especially if we review upon this occasion all the numerous Passages before refer'd to, when the Word *Generation* is us'd, that it was ever own'd to be *voluntary*, after the Will and Power, and good Pleasure of the Father were pre-suppos'd, and not from all Eternity; and remember that even the Council of *Nice*, who durst say (a) Christ was *not Made* yet, durst not say he was *not Created*; and that *Eusebius*, who seems to be unwilling after that Council to use that Word himself, did yet use it *before*; and did certainly not (b) own our Saviours proper Eternity. And now, upon this whole View, I dare appeal to every honest and Impartial Reader, who is willing to keep close to Christ's Religion, and the old Christian expressions in these Matters, whether it be not the original Christian Doctrine and Language, that our Saviour was really *Created*, *immediately* by the Father alone, as all the subordinate Creatures were

(a) See *Athanasius* convicted of Forgery.

(b) See *Monfaucon* *prælim. ad Euseb. Comment. in Psalm 6. 6.*

really *Created* by him *mediately* ; or by the Ministration of the Son ? And whether those that are ashamed of this certain Branch of our Religion, and choose rather to follow one or two antient Christian Philosophers, do not corrupt the Simplicity of the Christian Faith ? Which Faith yet is such a sacred thing, that no one can use any Disguise or Prevarication about it, but he incurs an Apostolick (b) *Anathema*, and is esteemed as one spoiled by (c) *that Philosophy and vain deceit, which the same Apostle assures us is after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the World, and not after Christ.* And we must also note here, that the best of the antient Writers do not, as Dr. Clarke p. 182. &c. insinuates, avoid saying, that Christ was *Created* in general ; but do so only in the same Sentence that they speak of the ordinary *Creatures* under that Denomination ; as it was proper to do, on account of the vast difference there was every way between them ; and as the Arians and Eunomians did in another way, with the greatest Exactness ; I mean when they said he was κτίσμα, *κὼς ἐν τοῖς κτισμάτων ποιμα, ἢ ὡς ἐν τῶν ποιμάτων.* *A Creature, but not like one of the ordinary Creatures : A Being Made, but not like one of the ordinary Beings that were Made.* This seems the true occasion of that scruple that has arisen, whether our Saviour might be truly said to be *Created* or a *Creature*. The way to cure which is not to lay aside the old Words and invent new ones of our own ; but to use and confine our selves to those old Words ; yet withal to take care to use them in the same distinct manner, as they were originally understood by the antient Christians, and not otherwise. But then, that he is really a *Derivative, Begotten, Created Being*, in opposition to any proper *Coeternity* with the Father, I take to be very plain in Scripture and An-

(b) Gal. I. 8, 9.

(c) Colo. II. 8.

tiquity, and an eminent part of that sacred *Depositarum* which Christ and his Apostles deliver'd to the Church; and which, for the main, was still the Christian Doctrine, especially in all the Eastern (d) Parts, till many Years after the Council of *Nice*: nay indeed was so known and confess'd a part of it, that Our Lord's Creation by the Father, was acknowledg'd in the publick Liturgy of the Jewish Churches; and what was equivalent thereto in that of the Gentiles, during all the first Ages of the Gospel, every Lord's Day, in the Offices for the Lord's Supper; as we learn from the plain Words of the Liturgies of the Apostolical Constitutions already set down. One thing farther deserves here highly to be consider'd, that Dr. *Clarke*, who professes to build all on the Scripture, does yet seem to endeavour to set aside these Scriptural Terms *Create* and *Creature*; while himself uses several Unscriptural ones of his own in their stead: And that he does this chiefly on the uncertain Authority of *Irenaus*; who, among the four Words made use of by him as to the Origin of our Blessed Saviour, *Prolationem*, *Generationem*, *Nuncupationem*, and *Adapertionem*, has but one of them, that is of certain, and sacred Authority, while the other Three are of uncertain, and human, or rather of heretical Original. I beg of Dr. *Clarke* to shew us how this Procedure of his is consistent with the main Design and very Title of his Book. And he well knows, that if even *Irenaus*, or an (a) Angel from Heaven preaches any other Doctrine than we have received from Christ, he is to be accursed. Nor does *Irenaus*'s making this Generation of Christ so particularly unsearchable and mysterious seem to me well ground'd; nor indeed other than a Western Pre-lude, towards that Scholastick Mystery of the Trinity;

(d) See Account of the Primitive Faith Article VI.

(a) Gal. i. 8, 9.

which

which the Apostolick Age knew nothing of ; which the latter Ages have made such a Noise about ; and which seems chiefly to have been supported by that misapply'd Text in (b) *Isaiab, Who shall declare his generation ?* Which none who ever knew an Apostle, as far as I observe, did ever apply to that matter ; no more than they did that of (c) *Paul, God over all, blessed for ever*, to the Son of God : Both which Texts have since that time been made so usefull towards the corrupting of our old Christianity in these matters. One thing farther, I must here note also ; That Dr. *Clarke* (d) gives up what I call the *metaphysick Eternity* of our Saviour, *before* his Generation or Creation, as absurd ; which yet has great Authority for its Support ; while he seems to allow of somewhat like a real *eternal Generation*, or *Coeternity* with the Father, which, abating the doubtfull Opinion of *Irenaeus*, is almost wholly destitute of all ancient Authority whatsoever. So easily may the greatest Men be byass'd by the prevailing Opinions of the Age they live in ; and so very difficult a thing it is to go exactly by original Evidence, where Prudence, Interest, and the Regards of this World are not utterly discarded before-hand in our Enquiries. [So far out of those Observations.]

But because I had also written somewhat by way of Conclusion, at the same time that I prepared the foregoing Defence, I shall add it in this place.

And now, to draw towards a Conclusion, it is here Articled and Objected against me, that 'I am a Priest in Holy orders of the Church of *England* ; and that I have formerly Subscribed to the Common-Prayer-Book, and to the 39 Articles ; which Common-Prayer-Book and 39 Articles, are contrary to

(b) *Isa. LIII. 8.*

(c) *Rom. IX. 5. See Ignat. ad Tarf. 5. 6.*

(d) *P. 287. &c.*

' the Doctrines here by me asserted. " Now, as to this Article or Objection against me, I must own it to be true ; that when I was considerably younger than I now am ; when I was much more Ignorant and unacquainted with the Primitive State of Christianity than I now am ; while I went on too easily according to the Custom of the Times, and the notions of my Education ; while I was not sufficiently aware of the Snares laid for me, by such Subscription, nor of the pernicious tendency of such Assent and Consent, I did too rashly and hastily Subscribe, and too Rashly and Hastily give my Assent and Consent, as the rest of my Brethren of the Clergy did: for which I heartily now do beg Pardon of God and of all good Men. But then, at the same time I plead, that as soon as I came to a more mature Judgment, and to a more exact Knowledge of Things ; as soon as I had made any Progress in that careful Examination which I have since gone through ; as soon as I had compar'd the Common-Prayer-Book, and 39 Articles with the ancient Creeds, the Holy Scriptures, the most Primitive Fathers, and the ancient Councils, I was abundantly satisfied, that the *Athanasian* Doctrines and Practices, contain'd in that Common-Prayer-Book and in those 39 Articles, were utterly unjustifiable by those Christian Records, and were no better than Branches of that Fatal Heresy, which was almost begun by *Athanasius*, many Years after the Council of *Nice* ; and which in after Ages, together with the other parts of Popery, prevail'd over the Christian Church. Accordingly I did from that very time firmly resolve to have no more to do with any such Subscriptions, any such Assent and Consent hereafter ; that I would act openly and sincerely before the Christian World ; that I would both by Discourse and Writing endeavour seriously to convince the *Athanasians* of their novel and pernicious Errors, and of their novel and dangerous Practices ; and

and to recover, as far as I was able, the Primitive Faith, Worship, Discipline, and Practice, as it was originally settled from Christ himself, by his Holy Apostles, and their Companions : I fully determined to do all this at the hazzard of my ease, my preferment, my estate, my reputation ; and, if it should please God to call me to it, of my Life it self. Accordingly I appear here as a Criminal before you on account of this my firm adherence to that old Christianity ; and I Confess before you all, in the words of St. Paul, that *After the way which the modern corrupt Ages have long called Heresy, Act. xxiv. 14. 15, 16. so Worship I the God of my Fathers ; believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets. And have Hope towards God, which you your selves also allow, that there shall be a Resurrection of the Dead, both of the just and unjust. And herein do I exercise my self, to have alway in these, as well as in all other things, a Conscience void of Offence, toward God, and toward Men.* I may add also, that tho' I do not desire to bring any needless trouble or Persecution on my self, nor would be without just cause guilty of my own or Families undoing, even in this World, yet do I profess, with the same Apostle, Act. xx. 23, 24. that *Tho' Bonds and Afflictions should abide me, for this my stedfastness, Yet do none of these things move me : Neither, as I humbly Hope, should I Count my Life dear to my self, So that I might finish my course with joy, and the Ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify these plain Branches of the Gospel of the Grace of God.* I do therefore here again own and testify to you all, that upon the most full and impartial Examination I have been able to make, and that after sincere prayers for the divine assistance, direction and blessing all along, I still believe that the Doctrines I am here accused for, are the real Doctrines of Christ, and his Apostles ; that the Apostolical Constitutions,

the

the support of which I am here impeached for, are also really Canonical Books of the New-Testament, and do, without Question, contain the original settlements of Christianity, the true Faith, Laws, Discipline, and Devotions of the very first Ages of the Gospel; that, by consequence, all the modern Churches, and in particular this Church of *England*, how much soever some of her Members may cry her up, as the *best Constituted Church in the World*, and as *intirely agreeable to Primitive Antiquity*, have sorely deviated from those original Settlements, and have thereupon not seldom establiſh'd False Doctrines for True, Human laws for Divine, Modern Traditions for Christian Rules, and have almost lost that regular and truly Christian Discipline, which is of principal concern in order to the Conversion, Edification, and Salvation of Men: that accordingly they are all of them, and our Church in particular, Oblig'd to make a serious review of those their several Constitutions, and to reduce them exactly to the Primitive Standards; that they are all bound, and our Church in particular, instead of Discouraging and prosecuting any honest Men that in the sincerity of their Hearts, and without all sinister affections endeavour to tell them the plain Truth, and call them to a farther Reformation, to encourage and assist them; and to amend what is amiss, when upon a fair Examination any thing shall appear to be so. This, I say, is certainly the plain Duty of the Church, and of its Governors in such a Case. But then, till I see some likely-hood of such a Christian Procedure, and while instead of that I perceive Violence and Prosecution do take Place, I do here publicly Disclaim and Recal those Subscriptions, that Assent and Consent which I am here accused of having formerly made; and I desire it as a favour of this Court, that they will please to take care that my Name be blotted or eras'd out of all those Records where it now appears,

pears, in way of Subscription to that Liturgy, or
 those 39 Articles. I desire this Court will please to
 take notice farther, that if Persecution, instead of
 Reformation, is to be hereafter the Characteristick
 of the established Church of *England*, that I do here-
 by also Disclaim any farther strict membership with
 her, and declare my self no longer to be peculiarly
 a Presbyter of the same Church. And I do, in con-
 sequence thereof, Declare that, upon that supposition,
 shall think my self, no longer under the same Obli-
 gations of constant communion with her; that I
 have hitherto been so careful of; but shall look up-
 on my self more at liberty than ever to act as a Chri-
 stian in General, and as a Presbyter of the Christian
 Church in General, for the time to come. Nor in-
 deed do I much more affect the Reputation of strict
 Membership with, or Priesthood in the Church of
England, if she once becomes a Persecuting Church,
 than I do in the Church of *Rome* it self, which has
 been notoriously such for many Ages. For tho I do
 not pretend that the one is at all in the same degree
 corrupted as the other, yet wherever the spirit of
 Persecution on account of Conscience and Religion
 Reigns, I look on any Church as so far Antichristian
 in its Constitution; And, by consequence, I cannot
 but suppose that if this Church of *England*, which
 has been hitherto one of the least given to that un-
 christian Practice of all the Reformed Churches,
 does again relapse into that wicked Spirit, she is be-
 ginning to repent of her former Reformation, and to
 sink back into Popery again. And if so, I and all
 the true Ministers of Christs Religion shall be ob-
 lig'd to cry out to the Christians of her communion,
 as in effect the first Reformers did, 2 Cor. vi. 17.
*Come out from among them, and be ye separate, and
 touch not the unclean thing. Apoc. xviii. 4. Come out
 of her, My People, that ye be not partakers of her Sins,
 and that ye receive not of her Plagues. I am sure nei-*
 ther

ther, my Tempér, my Education, nor my Interest incline me to speak things so grating and disagreeable, to such eminent Members of this Church, as this Court consists of. But you all know that I have long, and earnestly laboured for fair Hearing, calm Enquiry, impartial Examination, and a peaceable Correction of what is amiss in the Church ; but all to no purpose. So that my strict adherence to truth and sincerity ; my firm regard to Christianity, and to my sacred Function as a Christian Clergy-Man, who by his Office is not to fear any thing in the discharge of his Duty, oblige me to deal so freely in this case.

I shall now, my Lords, beg leave to end all with a somewhat long, but most Remarkable Passage of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, upon no very unlike occasion ; I mean when he was seiz'd and conven'd before the Nobles of *Judah* in the days of *Jehoiakim*, and was in danger of being put to Death, for his plain sincerity and open boldness in delivering ungrateful truths to them. Nor shall I fear to desire your Application of his case to that before you ; tho' I pretend to no immediate Inspiration : nor is it in your Power to take away my Life. For, How weak and frail soever I be my self, yet am I still a Christian Clergy Man, or an Ambassador of Christ, so far as I keep close to his Commission ; and I endeavour with all sincerity and openness to discharge my Ministerial Duty, and in Christ's name to deliver my Message, with all faithfulness, and this at the hazzard of my interest, and safety, and liberty in this World. And if the Doctrines I am here judged for prove at last, instead of Heresy, to be the very Doctrines of our Lord and Master Christ Jesus, by whom all Ministers of the Gospel are sent, as I am fully satisfied they will ; I beg you will seriously Consider whether you can with safety to your selves as well as justice to me resolve to Condemn me for honestly and openly maintaining them. The Passage I refer to is contain'd in the xxvi Chapter of *Jeremiah*,

Jeremiah ; especially the first sixteen Verses ; with which I shall Conclude.

CH A P. XXVI.

IN the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, came this word from the L O R D, saying.

2 Thus saith the L O R D, Stand in the court of the L O R Ds house, and speak unto all the cities of Judah, which come to worship in the L O R D's house, all the words that I command thee to speak unto them ; diminish not a word :

3 If so be they will hearken, and turn every man from his evil way, that I may repent me of the evil which I purpose to do unto them, because of the evil of their doings.

4 And thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the L O R D, if ye will not hearken to me to walk in my law, which I have set before you.

5 To hearken to the words of my servants the prophets whom I have sent unto you, both rising up early and sending them (but ye have not hearkened)

6 Then will I make this house like Shiloh, and will make this city a curse to all the nations of the earth.

7 So the Priests, and the Prophets, and all the people heard Jeremiah speaking these words in the house of the L O R D.

8 ¶ Now it came to pass, when Jeremiah had made an end of speaking all that the L O R D had commanded him to speak unto all the people, that the Priests and the Prophets, and all the people took him, saying Thou shalt surely die.

9 Why hast thou prophesied in the name of the L O R D, saying, This house shall be like Shiloh, and this city shall be desolate without an inhabitant ? and all the people were gathered against Jeremiah, in the house of the L O R D.

10 ¶ When the princes of Judah heard these things, then they came up from the kings house unto the house of the

the LORD, and sat down in the entry of the new gate of the LORDs house.

11 Then spake the Priests and the Prophets unto the princes, and to all the people, saying, This man is worthy to die, for he hath prophesied against this city, as ye have heard with your ears.

12 ¶ Then spake Jeremiah unto all the princes, and to all the people saying, The LORD sent me to prophesie against this house, and against this city, all the words that ye have heard.

13 Therefore now amend your ways and your doings, and obey the voice of the LORD your God, and the LORD will repent him of the evil that he hath pronounced against you.

14 As for me, behold, I am in your hand: do with me as seemeth good and meet unto you.

15 But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon your selves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof: for of a truth the LORD hath sent me unto you, to speak these words in your ears.

16 ¶ Then said the princes, and all the people unto the priests, and to the prophets, this man is not worthy to die, for he hath spoken to us in the Name of the LORD our God.

N. B. Because what I have here said about the Apostolical Constitutions in this Defence, is almost wholly a Reference to my former Book upon that Subject; which being long, and not always fit for the Unlearned Reader, it cannot be suppos'd to be generally read by them; I shall here take the liberty to make a fair Proposal to all the Learned and Judicious, in order to a more sudden Determination of that important Matter. The Proposal is this, That if any of them please to Select, any certain number of Laws, or Practices, or Doctrines, or Phrases

Phrases peculiar to Christianity, out of the known Canonical Books of the New Testament, I will undertake to Select an equal number, of the same kind out of the Apostolical Constitutions; I mean out of such as are not directly in those known Books of the New Testament; and if I do not demonstrate from all Christian Antiquity, that the latter sort were as fully, and universally allow'd by the Christian Church, to have been really deriv'd from Christ by his Apostles as the former, I will give up this cause; and not insist upon the sacred authority of that Book any longer. As I shall take it for a tacit Concession of the truth, of what I have advanced upon that head, if this Proposal meets with none among the Learned, who dares undertake to oppose me therein. And I the rather desire by this way of procedure to Oblige, if possible, the really Learned, and Judicious, to say something considerable in this most important Point, because they seem to me hitherto to be perfectly Asleep; and to leave it to be determin'd by such weak and injudicious Persons only, whose very arguments against that Book are, if Persons of Sagacity would consider them, not seldom very strong arguments for it.

W. W.

Note That the Account of the Legal Proceedings in this Cause, with the Pleadings of Mr. *Whiston's* Council Learned in the Law, both Civilians and Common Lawyers, tho' very Remarkable and Satisfactory, so far as they had been heard, are here omitted, on account of the Delay or Dropping of the Cause; otherwise care has been taken in good measure to preserve them, for the benefit of the Publick, if this, or any such like Court should hereafter be reviv'd among us for the Judging of Heresy.

L. 2

Mr.

Mr. *Whiston's* LETTER

To the Reverend

Dr. *Henry Sacheverell,*

Rector of *St. Andrew's, Holborn.*

The THIRD EDITION.

Cross-street, Hatton-Garden,

SIR,

April 23. 1713.

Altho' you was not pleas'd to return any Answer to that Letter which I long since wrote to you by Mr. *Clements*, concerning your self, and your former Conduct at *Aston*; and so omitted to vindicate your self in that Matter: Which Letter I was therefore oblig'd in Justice, after some time, to permit the * Person concern'd to print, for his own Vindication: Yet have I thought fit to try whether you will vouchsafe to give me an Answer, and do me Justice in a Point of much greater Moment; and such wherein Christianity it self is deeply concern'd: I mean as to those grievous Imputati-

* Mr. *Bisset's* Modern Phanatick, Part II. p. 19, 20.

ons which, at your Tryal, you laid upon me. I had said in my *Sermons and Essays*, that, *When the Scriptures speak of One God, they mean thereby One Supreme God the Father only*: ----- That *The Moderns call'd these Three Divine Persons but One God*; and so introduc'd at least a new, and unscriptural, and inaccurate, if not a false way of speaking into the Church, I had also, by my Noting some *Errata*, order'd the Particle *in* to be substituted instead of *and the Holy Ghost*, in a *Doxology*; and desir'd the Reader to blot out that Expression; *Three Persons and One God*, which I had made use of before my distinct Examination of those Matters. These Passages you were pleas'd to pick out of that Book, and to lay them before the Queen, the Parliament, the Nation, nay, almost the whole Christian World, as Instances, in whole, or in part, of *Blasphemy, Irreligion, and Heresy*. Upon this, in my † *Postscript* to my small *Essay on the Epistles of Ignatius*, publish'd soon after, which I also reprinted in my * *Historical Preface*, I ventur'd to 'Assure you that those were my own Words; and were agreeable to my own not uncertain Opinion, but certain Faith: that tho' I had once been in the common Opinion, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Three Divine Persons, were truly, in some Sense, *One God*, or *the One God* of the Christian Religion; yet that it was before I particularly examin'd that Matter in the Scriptures, and the most Primitive Writers: but that since I had thoroughly enquir'd into it, I was so fully satisfied that the *Father alone* is the *One God* of the Christian Religion, that I own'd, that when once I could deny, or doubt of that Doctrine, I must deny, or doubt of our common Christianity; since there is no one Article more plain, or more universally ac-

† Pag. 46, 47, 48.

* Pag. 81, 82, 83.

knowledg'd in all the first Ages of the Church.
 And I ventur'd farther solemnly to Challenge You,
 and all your more Learned Friends, to produce *One*
single direct Testimony of any Christian, and strictly
 Catholick Writer, before *Athanasius*, who said,
 the *Three Persons were One God, or The One God*;
 and declar'd, I was ready to produce *above an Hundred*
 plain Testimonies on the other side, that This
One God is no other than *God the Father*; as indeed
 the first Doctrine which the *Catechumens* learn'd,
 and the grand Foundation of our whole Religion.
 I did also acknowledge, that I thought, before
 Examination, that the Doxology current in all
 these latter Ages, *Glory be to the Father and to the*
Son, and to the Holy Ghost was the true Christian
 Doxology; but was fully satisfy'd upon Enquiry,
 that it was not so; but thus; *Glory be to the Father,*
by the Son, in the Holy Ghost: and more rarely,
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, in the Holy
Ghost: and profess'd my self prepar'd to shew, that
 those were the true Christian Doxologies, beyond
 reasonable Contradiction. Ever since which time
 I have in vain expected from your self, and your
 Friends, any Satisfaction. I have, however, made no
 farther Demands upon you, during the whole time of
 your Legal Silence and Restraint, nor while there
 was no manner of Relation between us. But since all
 Restraint is now remov'd, and you are fully at Liberty
 to Preach, as well as Write about these Important
 Doctrines of Christianity; and You, as well as your
 Friends, have had a long Time, and many Invitations,
 and Opportunities, to examine upon what small
 Foundation those Imputations stand; Nay, since you
 are become the Legal Rector of this Parish, wherein
 I live, and so ought to judge impartially about me
 and my Doctrines, in order to my Readmission here
 to the Holy Communion; from which I have so long
 been excluded: which yet I can neither think fit to
 desire,

desire, nor can expect you to grant, while you look upon me as guilty of no less Crimes than *Blasphemy*, *Irreligion*, and *Heresy* : I do therefore here renew my former Challenge, or rather make a New and an *Earnest Invitation* to You, and all your Learned Friends, either to Own, or Answer what I did there alledge, and am very ready to prove in the most Authentick Manner, for my own Justification. And I do accordingly hereby make my solemn Appeal to all the Original Sacred and Primitive Records of our Religion, even as late as the Council of *Nice* it self, and several Years afterwards, for the certain Truth of what is there said. And as you ventur'd to produce my Words before mention'd in the most open manner, and before the most Publick Assembly possible, as Instances of such *Blasphemy*, *Irreligion*, and *Heresy*, I claim it at your Hands, that you make me suitable Amends in my Reputation ; and if you cannot Defend your Charge, you will Confess your Mistake, and the Falshood of those Imputations you laid upon me ; and this, as near as may be, in the like Open and Publick Manner ; in order to both my Vindication, and the Vindication of those Sacred Doctrines, and that certain Practice of our Holy Religion, which you did there so rashly reproach and stigmatize ; but which I, as a Christian, ever think my self bound to believe and obey, as undoubted Branches of that Religion. Accordingly, I do intreat it of you as a Point of Favour, or rather demand it of you as a Piece of Justice, that you will appoint a proper Time and place, for a Friendly Conference or Disputation, upon these Important Points between us. I am desirous it may be as publick as possible ; because the publick Nature of the Matters concern'd, and the publick Place where you laid the Charge against me, do so require. However, I am very willing that you procure what Assistance you please from all your Learned Friends, or engage any

if them to supply your Place ; provided I also be allow'd the Assistance of some Acquaintance of my own, on the same Occasion. And if it be thought necessary to obtain Permission from our Governors, I offer my self to join my utmost Endeavours with yours, for the procuring such a Permission ; which, if it be desir'd on both Sides, we may hope will not be deny'd. I desire also, that every thing may be deliver'd in Writing on both Sides, to prevent all Mistakes, and Pretences of Misrepresentation. All that I farther beg for, and insist on in the present Matter, both with You, your Friends, and indeed all the Clergy ; and that on Behalf of my self, and those of my Persuasion, as well as of Truth and Christianity, is this ; That if they dare not dispute with any of us in publick, where we have Liberty to speak for our selves, they will not in publick Preach, or in private Talk against us, where they know we have no such Liberty or Opportunity. That there may be no longer room for that Suspicion, which is ready to be entertain'd by many, That not a few of the Clergy cannot in private vindicate, and do not inwardly believe, many of those common Doctrines, which yet in publick they Preach, and in private Maintain to the People. And give me Leave to say, that till the Occasions of this Suspicion are by some means or other taken away, the Clergy will be more and more expos'd to Contempt : and will be more and more suspected, neglected, and reproach'd by the free and unbiass'd Part of Mankind.

I am, S I R,

(in Expectation of your Answer in some convenient Time)

Your very Humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

N. B. That the Author has in all this Time, which is now almost two Years, had no Answer from the Doctor to this Letter.

W. W.

Feb. 7. 1714-15.

A

A

LETTER *from Mr. Whiston,*
to the Right Reverend the Lord
Bishop of London, to be commu-
nicated to His Grace the Lord Arch-
bishop of Canterbury, and the Bi-
shops of his Province.

May it please your Lordship,

SINCE by living within the Bounds of your Lordship's Parish or Diocese, I am so far under your Episcopal Jurisdiction, that I cannot so regularly apply myself to any other of your Lordship's Order as to your self : Since your Lordship has therefore so far a Right to take an account of my Behaviour, as a Christian Parishioner, and as a Presbyter of the Church ; and I am so far under an obligation of giving you an Account under both those Capacities of my Conduct, and have so far a Right to Advise and Consult with your Lordship in any of my Spiritual Difficulties and Perplexities : Upon these Foundations, and with this View, I do here, in great sincerity, and with great submission, take leave to make this my Address to your Lordship, not only on my own behalf, but also on behalf of such others as are of my Persuasion in Religious matters ;

ters ; and do beg your Lordship's Pastoral Advice and Direction, what we are to do in a Point of the greatest Consequence to our bounden Duty, and our greatest Interest ; to our peace of Conscience here, and to our eternal Salvation hereafter. You are not, I believe, my Lord, unapprized of the state of things here, with relation to myself, and many others ; nor of those Controversies which have now for several Years been started and carried on concerning the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, and the Worship that is to be distinctly paid to every one of those Sacred Persons. Nor can you, sure, be intirely insensible how plainly it has appeared, that the common Notions, of late current among us, have been little better than the gross Herefy of *Sabellius* on one side, and direct Tritheism on the other ; that the first Christians were still of another Mind, and, own'd God the Father as alone the One Supreme God of the Christian Religion ; and the Son, as God indeed, but deriv'd from and subordinate to him : While the Holy Spirit was never originally called God, and never directly Invoked by them at all, before the Days of *Athanasius*. Your Lordship also cannot sure but know, that after the numerous Pamphlets and Attempts to support the common Notions, the most Learned do find they cannot be supported ; as is very evident in the present Case of the Learned Dr. *Clarke* ; who has so fully satisfy'd the World in these Points, that the very upper House of Convocation itself, and your Lordship in particular, upon the consideration of this matter, have consented to drop any Prosecution of him ; and, notwithstanding his known disagreement from the Vulgar Notions, to leave him in Possession, not only of his Right of Membership, as a Lay Person, but of his Holy Orders, and of the principal Cure of Souls in your Diocese: This has been the calm and Christian behaviour of the Upper House of

Convoc.

Convocation, and among them, of your Lordship in particular upon this occasion. And this, my Lord, gives cause of Joy, and hopes of the like calm and Christian treatment to my self and to others, who are in great measure of the same Sentiments with Dr. *Clarke*, as to those important Points : Tho' I confess, We think ourselves oblig'd to Speak, and Write, and Act more plainly, clearly, and openly : and dare not soften or mollify any branch of what we esteem Christ's true Religion, in compliance with any modern Notions, or Temporal Inducements, or out of regard to any Human Authority whatsoever. And indeed, I hope We have a right to be so much the more esteemed the Objects of Christian Moderation and Sufferance, as we are willing and desirous to keep more intirely close to the Christian Faith, Worship, and Discipline, without all suspicious compliances, and with a more intire regard to the original Standards, as we find they were believed and practic'd in the first Ages of the Gospel, than he has done. I do not mean by this magisterially to Censure Dr. *Clarke* or any others, in what they have formerly or lately Written, or Declared, or Acted : *To their own Master they must Stand or Fall* : But so far I may venture to say again ; that since I dare not for any consideration in this World, do what I am clearly persuaded is not agreeable to the perfect sincerity of a Christian, I hope, that this my former, and my present open and sincere Declaration of my Mind, in all such Matters, will not hinder, but promote your Lordship's and the Church's candid forbearance and Christian treatment of me, and those of my Persuasion, on the like occasion. If your Lordship please to peruse the following Accounts and Letters, which I have formerly Printed, before your Lordship came to this Diocese, and do here transcribe, you will readily perceive the Cause of this Application; what it is that I complain of; what it is that I desire and

insist

insist on from your Lordship. Permit me then to lay them before you in their native Simplicity, and to suppose that what I there say to Mr. *Shute*, or rather by him to my Lord Bishop of *Chichester*, is in effect now said to your Lordship, only with all due variation of Circumstances; and with that great aggravation of the complaint, which so much longer an exclusion from the Holy Communion, may justly extort from me.

The last additional Hardship which I must complain of, is what goes near my Heart indeed, and that is, that I have been for some Months excluded from the Holy Communion, and that directly for doing my Duty to my Lord and Saviour; and, as I think, without any even legal Incapacity that can be pretended against me. This I can truly say has drawn from me such a passionate expression of Concern, as none of the other Instances of Severity ever did; and which I own to be a sore Tryal to me. But this whole Matter will be best understood from two Letters which I wrote to the Reverend Mr. *Shute*, one of the Curates of St. *Andrew's* Parish, wherein I live; and to which I have never yet receiv'd any full and proper Answer. They here follow *verbatim*.

Aug. 18. 1711.

S I R,

MY Lord Bishop of *Chichester*, the Rector of this Parish, did some time ago desire me for a little while, to forbear coming to the Weekly Communion, on account of the Debates about me in Convocation at that time; and us'd this as the principal Argument to me, That this Absence desir'd,

' desir'd needed to be only for a little while. I
 ' have, upon his Lordship's desire, absented my self
 ' for some time accordingly; to shew at once my
 ' regard to his Lordship, and to the Peace of the
 ' Church and Parish; without being sensible all the
 ' while of any Incapacity either in point of Consci-
 ' ence, or Law, but that on all accounts I may, and
 ' if I may I am certainly in Duty bound to frequent
 ' that Holy Communion; as the New Testament,
 ' and the Apostolical Constitutions enjoyn me. Nay
 ' farther, I have been inform'd, that about that ve-
 ' ry time when my Lord Bishop of *Chichester* desir'd
 ' my absenting myself for a while, the Lord Bishop
 ' of the Diocese had, upon Application, told my
 ' Lord of *Chichester* that the Communion was not to
 ' be deny'd me. The Convocation indeed have,
 ' since that time, censur'd several Opinions which
 ' they take to be mine. But then they have not
 ' proceeded against me at all; nor so much as Cited
 ' me to appear. The Censure is no way authen-
 ' tically published; but indeed rather studiously sup-
 ' pressed. Nor has the Queen, to whom it has
 ' been presented, at all ratify'd the same. So that
 ' it can no way legally affect me. I do therefore
 ' take it to be my Duty, as a Christian, and my
 ' Right as a Member of this Church and Parish to
 ' receive the Holy Communion constantly in this
 ' Place: And as I am very willing and desirous to
 ' perform that Duty; so do I insist on that Right:
 ' and beg that the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, and
 ' the Rector of the Parish may be inform'd of my
 ' Intention to offer myself accordingly, that no
 ' Surprize or Disorder may be in theleast occasion'd
 ' thereby. I am,

S I R,

Your very Loving Brother, and Humble Servant,

Will. Whiston.

Octob. 2. 1711.

S I R,

I Suppose you have before this time, received
 the Bishop of *London's* Determination, as to
 my Admission to the Lord's-Supper. Nay indeed
 I have had some information as to that Determination; tho' not authentickly, nor from Your self;
 I therefore let you know that I expect an Account
 of it from you in a little time; that I may come
 to some resolution about my own Practice. I am
 very unwilling to be excluded from the Communion, on no other account, but because I have
 honestly done my Duty as a Christian. And yet
 I am very unwilling to be the occasion of what any
 may call a Schism or Separation. Nor shall I
 easily attempt any such thing, while I, and others
 of my Persuasion, are admitted to such Communion with the Church: But cannot tell but it may
 be our Duty to set up such publick Worship as
 we can with a good Conscience more intirely join
 in, if we are deny'd the other. I have also had
 Advice; and find that, by the Laws of *England*,
 I cannot be refus'd the Communion. So that if it
 be now refused me, it seems to be by such a Severity or Rigour as the present Settlement cannot
 justify; and such as may have Effects by no means
 to the satisfaction of those who are instrumental
 in it. However, I openly take you to Witness,
 that in case I hereafter find it to be my Duty to
 set up any publick Worship different from that
 establish'd among us, it will not be till I was deliberately, and by those in Authority, refused
 this most solemn Instance of communion with the
 Church of *England*. This is a matter of great
 Consequence.

Consequence: And accordingly I give you leave,
if you think fit, to communicate this my Letter
to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, and the Rector
of the Parish, before I receive a final Answer.

I am, S I R,

Your Affectionate Brother and Servant,

Will. Whiston.

At the very same time that I published the Paper,
[*Athanasius convicted of Forgery*] I
did also write a Letter to the Lord *Append. II. to*
Bishop of *Chichester*, the Rector of the *my 1st vol. p.*
parish wherein I live, in order to *35--38.*
procure leave to return to full Communion, and to
be readmitted to the participation of the Lord's-
Supper, from which I had been excluded now al-
most a Year; and that without any proper legal
Impediment to such my admission. That Letter
was in these words.

Easter Eve, April 19. 1712.

My Lord,

Since I have been now almost a compleat Year
excluded from the participation of the Holy
Eucharist in this Place; and that for nothing but
my faithfulness to my Saviour, and publick own-
ing his despised Truths: And since this my Ex-
clusion is supported by no sufficient Authority,
even in our own Ecclesiastical Laws; I cannot any
longer satisfy myself without desiring and insisting
on my Readmission thereto. I therefore humbly
beg of your Lordship, as of one in Duty bound,
not,

not, without just cause, to deny me the advantage
 of this Holy Ordinance of our Religion: I obtest
 and conjure you that you will not hinder me from
 my bounden Duty, nor deprive me of my great-
 est Privilege. I am indeed to be easy under
 any temporal Penalties which come upon me in
 the course of my Duty; as I always endeavour
 to be: Yet am I not to be alike easy in the want
 of Christ's sacred Appointments, and the ordinary
 means of Salvation. Nor do I well know how I
 can, consistently with this my Duty to my Lord
 and Saviour, go on contentedly any longer in the
 other Instances of communion with the establish'd
 Church, if I be not also admitted to this Holy
 Ordinance. Accordingly I have determin'd with
 myself fully to see whether the Church will admit
 or exclude me; and that in such a manner that
 all others also that are or may be satisfy'd in those
 Doctrines, which I have so evidently shewn to be
 the sacred Truths of Christ, in opposition to the
 Heresy of *Athanasius*, may know whether their pu-
 blick Professions of the same will be any bar to
 their compleat Communion or not. I must own,
 my Lord, that there is reason to doubt whether
 those that are satisfy'd of the greatness of the Cor-
 ruptions in the present Churches, and how very far
 they have all receded from the old Doctrine, Wor-
 ship, and Discipline of the Gospel, and of the vast-
 ly better and more undoubted Authority there is
 for that wonderful and most excellent Settlement
 contain'd in the Apostolical Constitutions, as I ac-
 knowledge myself to be; ought not wholly to leave
 the publick and legal Establishments, and to set
 up other in distinct Religious Assemblies, or truly
 Christian Churches. But yet, because our Blessed
 Lord himself appear'd long to communicate with
 even the Jewish corrupt Church, while he was on
 Earth; because the danger and mischiefs of Sepa-
 ration

' ration are usually very great ; and because quiet
 ' and peaceable Christians, among whom I ever de-
 ' sire to be, are willing still to hope that the Bishops
 ' and Governors of the Church, may in time con-
 ' sider better of these important Matters, and at
 ' length find out a way for a more regular and pub-
 ' lick Reformation ; I am dispos'd to wait still lon-
 ' ger, with patience, without any such open Separation
 ' from the publick Administrations: I mean
 ' this, in case I and others of my Persuasion be o-
 ' penly allow'd the advantage of all the Institutions
 ' of Christ, without any oppression upon our Con-
 ' sciences. Otherwise I do not know how it will be
 ' consistent with that perfect Sincerity which the
 ' Gospel requires, and the known Obligations of
 ' Christianity, either hypocritically to conceal our
 ' real Sentiments and Convictions, in order to full
 ' Communion ; or to content our selves with the
 ' continual Omission of so express a Duty and main
 ' privilege of Christianity. As to my self, I heart-
 ' ily pray to God that my neglect of the Holy Eu-
 ' charist so long, even in my late Circumstances,
 ' may not be imputed to me for an Offence before
 ' God ; who will call us to account, as well for
 ' those Sins we have been guilty of, out of regard
 ' to Men and their Authority, as for any other.
 ' However, I dare not venture on any farther in
 ' that Neglect. But do insist upon it, that I be again
 ' admitted to the Communion here, as I was so long
 ' formerly, without Disturbance. Your Lordship
 ' cannot but be sensible that all pretences in any re-
 ' gular way against my admission are over. I am
 ' under no manner of censure, either from the Bi-
 ' shop of the Diocess, or the Arch-bishop of the
 ' Province. The Convocation have not so much as
 ' review'd their censure upon my Doctrines, since
 ' those Doctrines, and their Evidence have been in-
 ' tirely Publick. That very Censure is not, I think,

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yet

yet become at all the Legal Act of the Convoca-
 tion. Her Majesty has not only not confirm'd it,
 but, as I understand, has plainly dropt it; and so
 discourag'd any farther proceedings upon it: the
 truly Learned and Judicious do either own that
 my Doctrine is for the main true, or by their ob-
 stinate Silence do plainly confess they cannot con-
 fute it. Nay, as your Lordship will find by the
 paper herewith sent, the very principal foundation
 of the Charge against me fails; and what I have been
 chiefly censur'd, and was in danger of being con-
 demn'd for, proves now to be the Doctrine and
 Language of the Church in general, even at the
 Council of *Nice*: And what has so long been
 deem'd Heretical, on the suppos'd Authority of
 that Council, appears now to be only owing to
 the Knavery and Forgery of *Athanasius*. So that I
 hope all difficulties are at last remov'd, and I
 may freely attend your weekly communions, as I
 did formerly; and as both the Constitutions of our
 Lord by his Apostles, and the known Books of the
 New Testament do oblige me to do. Good my
 Lord, Have regard to the desires of one that asks
 for nothing, but that he may have leave to *Offer*
his Eucharistical Oblation in its appointed Seasons;
 may be permitted to act like a Christian; and
 may not by any severity of your's, be forc'd either
 to live without the Holy Eucharist, like a Jew or
 Heathen; or to seek it elsewhere, with such haz-
 zard of publick disturbance to the Church on one
 side, and of persecution to my self on the other,
 as I am no way inclinable to incur; Unless I per-
 ceive it to be matter of plain Duty, and obligation
 of Conscience: In which case I hope no worldly
 Motives shall have the least influence upon me. In
 order to prevent these difficulties I intend, My
 Lord, soon to offer my self at the Holy Table in
 this Parish; but am very desirous to have some in-
 timation

timation of your Lordships permission before hand. I humbly Beg your Lordships Blessing; and subscribe my self,

Your Lordships most Obedient Servant

Will. Whiston.

Not long after the receipt of this Letter My Lord of *Chichester* sent me a Verbal Answer to it, by the Reverend Mr. *Shute* one of the Readers of the same Parish, formerly mention'd on the like Occasion. It was to this effect; that he had receiv'd my Letter, and had thereupon consulted with my Diocesan, the Bishop of *London*, and with the rest of his Brethren, and, tho' he was sorry for it, yet that he must assure me that if I should offer my self at the Communion he must refuse it me, on account of the offence I had given the Church.

These, My Lord, are the Accounts and Letters I mean: And this the great and, I think, just complaint which I am forc'd to make to your Lordship, that I am still excluded the Communion of the Establish'd Church, in her most sacred Eucharistical Office, because I am so sincere in my Christianity that I dare not renounce or dissemble any of its sacred Truths, when upon the fullest enquiry and most abundant evidence, I am intirely satisfy'd they are Branches of Christs true Religion: and this while I have all along communicated hitherto with the Church, so far as in Conscience I could, and as I have been permitted to do it, without an attempt for any Separation: And while even no legal Censure or Incapacity lies upon me, which should be any hindrance to my Admission to that sacred Ordinance.

Permit me farther, My Lord, to lay before your Lordship that great regard that I have paid the Establish'd Church, even under the apprehension of be-

ing cut off from her, or oblig'd to leave her, by my choosing rather to correct, and to improve her Liturgy, for my own use, and those of my Persuasion, than to think of joining directly, with any of those other Bodies of Christians which are divided from her; by choosing to alter her forms no more than the very nature of Christianity plainly requir'd; and by making a great part of those alterations from no other than her own first and best Reformed Liturgy, own'd for such by many of her late and present most Learned and Pious Members. This Liturgy of the Church of *England*, thus improv'd and corrected, and that with the Advice and Assistance of not a few of the best and most Learned in her Communion also, is now such that I may venture to say, all the Members of this Church, who are sufficiently skilled in, and set a due value upon true Christian Antiquity, must confess, that it is much better, and much more agreeable to the most ancient remains of Christianity than that which is here or any where now Establish'd by Legal Authority; and yet withal not so different from the Establish'd one, as to deserve to be esteem'd properly another; but is rather the same Liturgy of the Church of *England* still; only corrected and improv'd according to the Primitive Ages. Give me leave therefore, My Lord, to insist upon it, both with your Lordship and the rest of the Governors of this Church, as highly reasonable, that such of the Clergy or Laity as please may have the liberty to use this Liturgy, without being esteem'd Separatists or Dissenters from her; that those Christians who may desire to Worship God the nearest of all other Bodies to the way of the Establish'd Church, may not be censured or disturbed by her, while she permits all the rest to act according to their own Consciences in such Matters, without any Disturbance. And I take leave to hope, that while all other sorts of Religious

Religious Persons are indulg'd and secur'd in such their
 Christian Liberty, those that must be allow'd by all,
 to follow most strictly the Laws and Directions of
 our old genuine uncorrupt Christianity shall not
 be the only Persons excluded from publick Favour
 and Countenance, at least not from publick Forbear-
 ance and Toleration. I cannot therefore but ex-
 pect and insist that the Church will either openly al-
 low and invite me, and all those of my Persuasion,
 to communicate intirely with her; notwithstanding
 our known and avowed Dissent in such points of
 Profession and Practice, as no Christians in three
 Centuries were oblig'd to Profess or Practice; (in
 which case I hope we shall be very tender of doing
 any thing which shall be lyable to the imputation of
 any proper Separation from her;) or however, that
 she will freely permit us to Worship God according
 to the way of that Reformed Liturgy herewith pre-
 sented to your Lordship. Nor can it be other than
 highly reasonable to expect one of these conditions
 from her: Since otherwise we must either go on in
 the constant neglect, of the principal part of pub-
 lick Christian Worship, which is inconsistent with the
 known Laws of the Gospel, and which I am confident
 your Lordship will not advise us to: Or we must
 endeavor to join our selves with some of the other
 Dissenting Bodies, which the Church looks on as di-
 rectly Sinfull and Schismatical: and which therefore
 I may justly suppose your Lordship will not approve
 of. This, My Lord, is sincerely my case, and the
 case of others of my Persuasion. And it is a case of
 so much Hardship and Difficulty, and Concern to
 our selves, and to the Church, that we do very much
 want and desire your Christian, your Pastoral Ad-
 vice and Instruction therein. What your Lordships
 Thoughts may be I cannot tell: But as to my own,
 I must freely profess that I incline to the second way
 propos'd, the use of that Reformed Liturgy, as most

agreeable to sincerity, to the revealed Will of God, and to the propagation of Truth and genuine Christianity among us ; as most unexceptionable in point of Conscience, and perhaps not more exceptionable in point of prudence and publick peace also. For which my Opinion I will at any time, upon the least intimation from your Lordship, be ready to give my reasons more largely. However, I am very willing and desirous to hear the Sentiments and reasons of any pious and serious Christians ; especially of any of the Learned among them ; and most of all of any of the Governors and Bishops of the Establish'd Church, and particularly of your Lordship, our Honour'd Diocesan : to whom therefore I do hereby humbly apply my self on this account. I am,

My LORD,

Your most Obedient

and Humble Servant,

Will. Whiston.

In Answer to this Paper, I received the following Letter from the Reverend Mr. *Bell*, his Lordship's Chaplain.

Somerſet-

Somerſet-Houſe, Aug. 6. 1714.

S I R,

MY Lord Biſhop of *London* commands me to return the Book and Paper you ſent him, and to let you know, that he has heard you do not live within his Jurisdiction : As alſo that he conceives it to be proper that ſuch Communications ſhould come from the Arch-Biſhop to him, and not the contrary. I am,

S I R,

Your Humble Servant,

Geo. Bell.

Whereupon I ſent the Book, the Paper, and Mr. *Bell's* Letter to the Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*. To all which I ſoon received the following Answer, by the Reverend Mr. *Ibbot*, his Grace's Chaplain ; with which I ſhall conclude this matter.

Lambeth-Houſe, Aug. 7. 1714.

S I R,

I Have with this ſent Back to you the printed Book, your written Letter, and one from Mr. *Ibbot*, by his Grace's Order. Upon his giving me Back what you ſent, he ſaid with ſome Concern, That he had hoped you would in common Prudence, eſpecially at this time, have reſtrained yourſelf from Writing, Printing, and Diſcourſing of your dangerous and offensive Matters. I am,

Your Humble Servant,

B. Ibbot.

LETTER from *Mr. Whiston,*
to the Reverend Mr. Broughton,
Lecturer of St. Andrew's Hol-
bourn; with Mr. Broughton's
Answer.

Cross-street-Hatton-Garden,
Nov. 14, 1714.

Honoured Sir,

ALtho' you have taken several occasions, since I have been in the Parish where you are Lecturer, to divert from that more serious and useful way of practical Preaching, which in general you seem careful to pursue; [and from which, whenever you or others do digress, either to Political or Religious Controversies, give me leave to say it, they seldom do so either to their own Reputation with the best Judges, to the conviction of Gainsayers, or to the edification of their Congregations;] yet have I had that great regard to your other useful Labours and good Character here, and to the Temper you have generally shewed in your Reflections on me my Notions and Writings hitherto, as to avoid giving you any Trouble. But then you were betrayed to so much unbecoming assurance and warmth in your Sermon this Day, and that in a point so utterly unjustifiable,

justifiable, as is that of the *Equality* of the Son to the Father, and of the *Equality* of that *Glory* and *Worship* which is due to him ; and this you supported by evidence so very weak, and texts so falsely translated or utterly perverted ; you did also so plainly intimate, without all ground, that this my Assertion of the *Subordination* of the Son, and, by consequence of the *subordinate* divine Worship which is due to him, was a branch of the very *Arian Heresy* itself ; that I could not hear all this without great concern and regret. I was sorry that one whom I thought otherwise a Good Man, should make use of the advantage of that Sacred Place of the Pulpit ; which in such cases serves commonly for little more than for security against Opposition from the Learned, and to give advantage for impression on the ignorant ; to instill such unjustifiable Notions and Practices into your Hearers : While I was confident, by what you said, that you either was no master at all of the Argument ; or if you were, that you must know you spake with great assurance about what there was very little evidence for : Nay, what, in that case, you must know there was very great evidence against in all the old Records of Christianity. When I hear Dr. *Sacheverell* preach such things, as I sometimes do from the same Pulpit, I am not so much surprized, because his Character makes me expect no better ; And his constant supposal of the Infallibility of the Church of *England* in his preaching, admits of no other. But when Mr. *Broughton* undertakes to treat of such important Points, I expect somewhat more considerable. Tho' I cannot but say that I have herein been frequently disappointed in my expectations from you ; and never more than when this Day you openly and boldly asserted those things to your Congregation, as evident and unanswerable, which you could hardly escape knowing to be very far otherwise ; and which I am pretty well assured you would not have been
so

so positive about any where but in the Pulpit. And indeed I cannot but wonder to hear very often things dogmatically asserted and earnestly press'd in that Place, which the Preacher, I dare say, would hardly venture at all to justify elsewhere, in any sort of Learned conversation; and which are commonly known to be ill-grounded and unjustifiable; and have thereupon been given up by the Wise Men of all Parties. The reason of which, in plainly unsincere Men, I can easily guess at: But what to say for it in such as have any Character for fairness and integrity I cannot tell. Nor do I think it at all tolerable in any who are forced to own the *Subordination* of the Sun to the Father, as the wisest of the Orthodox most certainly do; to oppose, as you did, those that say the Worship and Glory due to him must in kind be *Subordinate* to that given to the Father. However, since you have been pleas'd Openly in my hearing, to preach what I believe to be Unchristian Doctrine to this great Parish, I cannot but expect it of you that you as openly Defend it; and that in some other way than from the Pulpit; which you know I shall not be permitted to make use of. I mean, either by publick Conference, or by the Press. And I do the rather claim this piece of Justice of you on three accounts; One is because Dr. *Sachseverell*, who us'd to preach against me, and procure others to preach for him that did so, has refused the same Invitation long ago; and so I have no other Person belonging to this Parish whom I can so justly expect it from as your self. Another is, because you have not only vouchsafed to have a sort of real private Conference with Dr. *Clarke*, about somewhat which remotely concerns these Points; but have permitted publick Accounts to go abroad in the Prints, without any publick Contradiction, of your gaining Victories and Triumphs over him in such Conferences about these Points themselves, when there never were

were any such Conferences at all. And the third is, because I would fain have all Tricking laid aside, and have honest Christian People never taught any such Doctrines from the Pulpit, which the Teacher is ashamed to defend before them when he is out of it: Which Art yet, I doubt, is very common with too many; but will most certainly, by degrees, as it comes to be more and more discover'd, expose the Clergy to the utmost Contempt and Disgrace possible. I beg of you, Sir, therefore, in case you don't resolve all into the Infallibility of the present Church, as you have any regard for the honour of God, the reputation of the Clergy, the truths and duties of the Gospel itself, and the great Account we must all make to our common Lord at the Great Day, that if you have not in earnest studied these Points in the old Records of Christianity, and so cannot judge authentickly of them, that you will no more meddle with them in your Sermons: But that if you think you are sufficiently a Master of them to Preach about them, that you will also condescend to have a Friendly Conference, as publick as your Preaching to be all done by Papers delivered on both sides: Or at least that you will Print such your Sermons, with what Additions you please, that I may have the opportunity to Defend myself, and those Christian Doctrines I embrace, publickly, before the Inhabitants of this Parish, and before all the World, in a Vindication. If you please to grant me the first branch of this last request, I will join with you in procuring leave from our Diocesan for that purpose: And in the other case there is no occasion for asking it. So, in expectation of a Friendly and Christian Answer, to what proceeds from no unfriendly disposition to you, and from an hearty concern for genuine Christianity, I take leave to subscribe myself,

Nov. 14.
1714.

Your Loving Brother and Humble Servant,

Will. Whiston.

Mr. Broughton's Answer.

Great Kirby-Street, Nov. 26. 1714.

S I R,

TH O' yours pretends to bear the Date of Sunday was Sev'night, when my Sermon was preach'd, it could not reach my House in the next Street by *Tuesday* Noon, at which time I set out for *Kingston*, and there receiv'd the Letter in a Parcel the other Day; which I Remark only that you should not think me dilatory in this, or that yours requir'd much Consideration; for indeed the only thing in debate with myself was, whether I shou'd give it any Notice at all. However you see I have determin'd in your Favour for once. The main drift of your Letter, is to propose or rather demand printing my Sermon of that Day, and such others wherein I have taken occasion to assert the *Essential Divinity* of our B. Saviour; or 2^{dly}. That I wou'd consent to have a Conference with you, as publick as those Discourses have been. As to Printing, I believe you will be content with this short Answer, that I have often refused the Desire of Friends, and shall not be over-born by the importunity of others in that Article: And as to the Conference, I refuse that also; for this very good Reason, that the Letter itself which makes the Demand, does in my Judgment, forbid the Compliance. For 1st. In this very Letter, you have already most egregiously mistaken, and most perversely abused the Argument as it lies in my Sermon. The substance of your Complaint is, that I have deny'd the *Subordination* of the Son

Son to the Father, which you vainly arrogate to your self as your own Notion. Whereas, neither the Word, nor the Thing meant by it, fell within the compass of that Argument. My Text led me to assert, that the Scripture ascribed the same Glory to Father and Son; and then as a Consequence of this, argued for the *Essential Dignity* of the Son: And here ended the Doctrinal Part, with a Reflection I confess on the *Arians*. But I enter'd not at all upon the Point of the *Subordination*; which was not needful, and would have postponed the Practical part of my Discourse: And therefore, whether I hold the *Subordination* of the Son, or not, is more than you know; and consequently more than, in Modesty, you ought to have asserted. And I might rest securely in this Defence alone. But I will here obviate also whatever you can reply to this Censure; and that is, when I assert the same Glory and Worship to belong to the Father and Son, I do, by consequence, destroy the *Subordination* of the Son, there being a repugnancy to each other in the things themselves. That this is the utmost you can say, I collect from two distant places in your confused Letter. The first is, *That this my Assertion of the Subordination of the Son, and by consequence of the subordinate divine Worship which is due to him, &c.* The other is, *Nor do I think it at all tolerable in any who are forced to own the Subordination of the Son to the Father, to oppose, as you did, those that say the Worship and Glory due to him, must in Kind, be subordinate to that given to the Father.* Now here observe that, as, according to your own Account, I opposed the *Subordination*, no otherwise than as the same Divine Glory and Worship which I asserted, may consequently destroy it: So you assert the *Subordinate Glory* and Worship, no otherwise than as

a consequence of the *Subordination* itself : And both deductions are of your own, not my making. And is not this very modest in you, whom I have heard rail at the whole English Clergy (and that before an Arch-Bishop) for presuming to reason consequentially from Scripture ? (You knowing very well, how far such consequential Reasoning wou'd carry out Lord Jesus above the Character of a *dear Creature*, as I then heard you term him.) But there is no Sin in the Saints : For now you assume to your self, and indeed have all along assumed, the liberty of reasoning Consequentially ; nay, and of drawing Consequences from my Words, which you know not whether I had any View of or not : Nay, lastly, you have taken to your self the decent freedom of reasoning by false and absurd Consequences, even while you are precluding us from drawing those that are most evident and necessary. To prove this last Charge (for the other two are already evident) I tell you *ist*. That we of the Church of *England* profess to give the same Glory and Worship to the Father and Son, with an absolute consistency with all that *Superiority* and *Subordination*, which is necessarily implied in the relative Terms of Father and Son. And since we do thus profess, as I do for one at present, then neither by asserting the former, do we deny the latter ; and so the whole Charge in your Letter upon me is false, and the Foundation of our Conference quite taken away. But you will still urge, that in this profession we are not consistent with our selves and the Truth ; and therefore I say, *Silly*. That, whereas this Accusation ought, of all other things, to be made good, it is only taken for granted in this Letter, and throughout those of your Works that I have seen.

Sir,

Sir, I have brought you now to that main Point which you should have labour'd to prove in your Letter, to save it from plain Impertinence; but of which, to my amazement, you have not one word, unless I'll take your own for it; *nor do I think it tolerable*, say you: But I must tell you your Thoughts without your Arguments, in this Capital Point, are intolerable. For my own part, I do humbly conceive I can prove, by the Testimony of Scripture, Reason assenting too, the perfect consistency between the two Things before mentioned; and by God's help, will attempt it on a proper occasion: But this was no way incumbent upon that Sermon, which did not descend to the Point. But let me tell you, 'tis a Duty absolutely incumbent on every Objector to our Doctrine, to demonstrate the contrary; it being one main Point of difference between the *Trinitarian* and the *Arian* Scheme; and that which brings us directly to the whole merits of the Cause. Yet this Article Mr. *Whiston* is always willing to slur over: which I think no Man of his Learning, joyn'd with Veracity, cou'd be guilty of, unless he were touched in his Head. Which latter, that it is your unhappy, tho' more innocent Case, some of your best Friends, I can prove, have acknowledged as freely as the World reports it; which I mention with no other design than as a Reason, by the By; why, under this perswasion, I may be allow'd to refuse your desire of a Conference, without any risque of my own Reputation. In the mean time, this stumbling at the Threshold, in misapprehending and misrepresenting my Words, deliver'd in a solemn Discourse, is itself to me a sufficient Bar to a Conference, that's never like to be determined, or to determin any thing. 2dly. If false Zeal, and a furious unchristian Spirit, may forbid Conference and

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and Conversation too, I assign this for another Reason.

I know not what occasion I have given Mr. Whiston to put upon me the hard Dilemma of the Knave or the Fool; either *I am no master at all of the Argument*; and then I was a Fool at least, to treat so often of it in Publick; or *I spake with great Assurance about what there was very little Evidence for*; nay, what I must know there was very great Evidence against; and then I was a downright Knave. Nay, by and by the Fool is thrown out of the Case; *I have asserted openly and boldly those things as evident and unanswerable to my Congregation, which I can hardly escape knowing to be far otherwise.* And again; *I would fain (say you) have all Tricking laid aside*; which I presume you wrote to me, that I might apply it to myself. Whereupon I make but this one soft Reflection, That it is indeed to be forgiven on the Foundation of Christianity, but is in itself no good Foundation for a Christian Conference. Besides, this Language, and indeed all the Language you use, shews your Mind to be so fixed and riveted in your Notion, that I cannot expect any Reasoning of mine, if good in itself, shoud do any good upon you: No! I verily believe (and I think upon flagrant Evidence) that you wou'd be no more mov'd with an Argument that really destroy'd your Scheme, than a Stone receives Sensation from the Hammer that breaks it. But 3dly. This Letter puts yet a stronger Bar to my Conferring with you, by the Specimen you have already given me, not only of uncharitable hasty Expressions, but of premeditated Falshood and Insincerity. After your telling me of a certain private Conference with Dr. Clarke, about something remotely concerning these Points, you add, *That I have permitted publick Accounts*

counts to go abroad in the Prints, without any publick Contradiction, of my gaining Victories and Triumphs over him, in such Conferences about those points themselves, when there never were any such Conferences at all. Whereupon I make bold to observe 1st. 'Tis false that the publick Prints did distinguish between those points themselves, and those remotely concerning them; but only said we had a Conference together, and the Subject of which was easily understood by every Reader: And yet it was absolutely necessary for you to make this groundless distinction, or else what you reproach me with of *no such Conference at all*, had been an open palpable falshood, whereas 'tis now only a Covert one; for 2^{ly} That sort of Conference (as you mince the Matter) did concern, in the first Place, Dr. Clark's management of these Points themselves; and next it directly went upon the Points themselves: I proposing to overthrow the whole *Arian* Scheme, by one general Argument; after I had lay'd it down as an *Axiom* that the Scriptures we have are the true Word of God: which was allowed as an *Axiom* between the Dr. and me. (Tho' I know it is no *Axiom* between Mr. *Whiston* and me: I having heard you say that no Author was ever so abused as *St John* the Evangelist has been: which the Discourse we were upon evinces you could mean no otherwise than as to the Genuineness of those Writings, which pass under his Name in our Canon of Scripture.) The time wou'd not suffer me to proceed, with him, to several other of those Points, consequential and subsequent to that Argument; but I have desired, and still do desire to go thro' all those Points themselves, with one of his excellent Understanding, joyn'd with so good a Temper; and you may, if you think it a futable Employment, be pleas'd to carry him the Message. In the mean time, I solemnly declare that I was not concerned, either directly or indirectly,

in the publication of those Advertisements ; but neither was I concerned, in point of truth to contradict them. And now I see clearly, in what Mint that printed Calumny was forged, which plainly intimates that I published them my self : It is indeed an Honour to me that I am thought worthy to fall under the same Virulent Pen, which has struck at the whole Body of the English Clergy ; but then I should be as devoid of Prudence, as you are of Patience, did I trust my self so far with you, as Conferences seem to require I should ; for I find already you are not the most exact Reporter of Conferences.

These are my Reasons. — I shall not stay to expostulate with you, on your Unwarranted and Unchristian Reflection on our Rector, nor your Effrontery in expecting I should desist Preaching on those Points, which I believe to be the great distinguishing Articles of Christianity ; nor the many Escapes made in the Letter before me. You do indeed, with some Justice, intimate my Ignorance of the Old Records of Christianity, tho' you I think never found that Ignorance out. However I have met with one Record of that kind, which I am sure you stand in need of, and may profit by ; 'tis a sacred Advice *μη παρεσθενει παρ ε σοι φρονειν, αλλα φρονει εν τω σωσεναι* and if you'll take it, in earnest, I believe there will soon remain no Controversy between you and

Your affectionate Brother,

and Well-wisher,

John Broughton.

N. B.

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N. B. I shall make no Reply to this Letter at all. I Confess that it has perfectly cur'd me of all Expectations from the Author as to these Matters ; and I declare that I now neither desire he should Print his Sermons, nor have any Conference with Dr. Clarke or my self about them.

Feb, 18 1714-15.

William Whiston.

FINIS.

N 2

N. B.

N. B. That the Reader may know truly my Notions in all points, I have thought fit to add here a Compleat Catalogue of my Writings, which was intended to have been deliver'd into Court: with the Addition of those since published, or now ready for Publication.

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